THE

# TÁJ-UL IKBÁL TÁRIKH BHOPAL;

OR,

# THE HISTORY OF BHOPAL.

H. H. THE NAWAB SHAHJAHAN,
BEGAM OF BHOPAL.

TRANSLATED BY

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# TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

The following pages profess to be a literal translation of the Urdu edition of H. H. the Begam's History of Bhopal.

It was undertaken by me when acting as Political Agent of Bhopal, from February 1874 to October 1875. The Begam had not been able to find a suitable translator, so I offered my services, and worked at the book in such intervals of leisure as could be spared from my official duties.

The only works known to me having special reference to Bhopal are Sir J. Malcolm's Central India and Colonel Malleson's Essay, both of which will amply repay perusal, and in both of which the dramatic interest has been worked up to a high pitch round the person of Muhammad Wazir Khan, who may be said to have been the immediate founder of the present Ruling Family of Bhopal.

It is to be hoped that the present work may not prove devoid of interest to English readers as affording an insight into the genuine expression of Oriental feelings and modes of thought.

My acknowledgments are due to Colonel Thuillier R.A., C.S.I., Surveyor-General of India, for the kind and prompt manner in which he furnished me with the map of the Bhopal Territories which accompanies this volume.

There are many marks of haste in the translation and probably mistakes also, but the original has been rendered as closely as possible: and as the use of Hindustani words in a book of this kind is inevitable, a glossary has been added for the enlightenment of any reader to whom such words may not be familiar.

H. C. BARSTOW.

MUSSOORIE, N. W. P.,
*July 8th*, 1876.

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# AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

[A prayer with which the Preface begins has been omitted.]

IN the year 1268 A. H., which corresponds with 1852 A.D., Major Durand,* at that time Political Agent of Bhopal, advised the late Nawab Sikandar Begam to write a book containing a true history of the Chiefs of Bhopal up to the presnt time, together with a narrative of the rise and progress of the State, after the example set by the Emperor Babar, who wrote the annals of his reign. Such a book, said Major Durand, would be the means of extending her renown from Hindustan to England.

She took his advice, and with great industry and perseverance collected from the ancient records of the State the materials for the work, which, in seventeen years, had grown into a bulky volume; but were still incomplete when my lamented mother departed from this transitory to an eternal life, and the establishment employed in its compilation was dispersed.

History is a science which engages the attention and study of rulers in every age, and claims votaries from every religion and sect, especially among the English, who are at great pains to collect and analyse facts and acquaint themselves with the customs and history of every country and society, regarding this knowledge as a key to understanding the revolutions of the world and the progress or

* The late Sir H. M. Durand, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

decline of mankind. It is to historians too we should look to discern the signs of peace and war.

*For the above reasons this suppliant at the threshold of the Almighty, the Nawab Shahjahan Begam,* on the 1st Moharram 1288 A.H., herself undertook this work. It was accordingly arranged in three brief parts, and entitled the Táj-ul Ikbál Tárikh Bhopál (The Crown of Prosperity, the History of Bhopal), and it is published in Persian, English and Urdu, in order that it may be open to every one to acquaint himself with the contents and reap the benefit to be derived from the study of this volume.

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## PART I.

### CHAPTER I.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COMING OF SIRDAR DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN, OF THE MIRAZI KHAIL, FROM AFGHANISTAN INTO HINDUSTAN, AND OF HIS ACQUIRING TERRITORY AND MONEY, WITH ALL THAT HE DID UNTIL HIS DEATH.

SIRDAR DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN, the son of Núr Muhammad Khan, the son of Jan Muhammad Khan, the son of Khan Muhammad Khan, of the Mirazi Khail, emigrated to Hindustan from Therah, near the Khaibar Pass, in Afghanistan, in the beginning of the reign of Bahadur Shah, son of Alamgír, in the year 1120 A.H.,* and settled in Lohari Jalalabad;† but having quarrelled with and slain a Pathan there, he fled through fear of being brought to justice by Jalal Khan, ruler of Jalalabad, and betook himself to Shahjahanabad (Delhi), whence he accompanied the imperial army which had been ordered to the province of Malwa.

On his arrival in Malwa he first took service with the Raja of Sita Mhow, but left his employ to visit Muhammad Faruk, governor of the city of Bhilsa, where he deposited his goods and chattels, and proceeded empty handed to take employment under one of the Sirdars of Malwa, by whose orders he attacked the zamindar of Bans Barla, and was wounded in the encounter.

By mistake a report of his death was brought to Muhammad Faruk, who proceeded to lay hands on the property which had been left in Bhilsa. Dost Muhammad

* 1120 A.H. = 1716 A.D. nearly, and Bahadur Shah died in 1712 A.D., after a reign of five years.

† In the Muzaffarnagar District of the N.W. Provinces.

Khan, enraged at hearing the news, came to Bhilsa and presented himself before the governor, who restored part of his property, but refused to give up the remainder. Whereupon Dost Muhammad Khan withdrew in wrath to Mangulgurh, near Bairesia, and entered into service with the mother of Thakur Anund Singh, Solunki Rajput. Such was the fidelity and energy of the Khan that the Rani used to call him her own son. On her death he retained possession of certain jewels and property which had been entrusted to him; and withholding them from the Rani's heir, went away to the town of Bairesia, which at that time was held under an imperial grant by Taj Muhammad Khan, one of the nobles of the Imperial Court of Delhi. Owing to the decline of the dynasty of Timour, there was great insecurity of life and property in Hindustan. Highway robberies were frequent; the Rajputs of Malwa, such as the Thakur of Parason, &c., used to issue from Malwa and plunder the country from the borders of Berar to Kandeish, and in like manner the pargana of Bairesia was laid waste at their hands. Yar Khan, amil of the Chandkhatri Taluk, the agents and servants of the grantee, were utterly unable to cope with the robbers. At the instance of Kazi Muhammad Saleh, Sundul Rai, and Alum Chand Kanongo, Dost Muhammad Khan took a lease of Bairesia for 30,000 rupees a year from the grantee; and having induced his relations, the Pathans of his clan from Afghanistan to join him, formed the intention of subjugating the country.

He sent a certain experienced spy disguised as a beggar to Parason to find out particulars. The spy sent intelligence that it was the time of the Holi just then, that the chief of Parason and his followers were employed in dancing, painting each other, and revelry, and were quite off their guard; so Dost Muhammad Khan set out with a force of his own trustworthy adherents, and reached Parason at midnight. The chief, his servants, and all his clan were sitting intoxicated in the height of the feast of the Holi,

witnessing a nautch; suddenly the Pathan Sirdar and his soldiers appeared in the midst of the assembly, who were taken by surprise; a great number, including the Chief, were killed; and the women, children, and property of the slain fell into the hands of the Sirdar. After this the Pathans girded up the loins of resolution, and applied their energies to subduing the country. The unruly spirits in Kitchiwara and Umatwara were kept well in check. Raja Khan and Shamshir Khan, who under Muhammad Faruk Hákim of Bhilsa were deputies in charge of Shamshabad, encountered them and were slain. A Rajput of the Dewara clan, chief of Jugdespur, a noted robber, demanded tribute from the patel of Barkhera in Pargana Dilod; the patel relying on the Pathan's support refused payment, the Rajputs plundered him; the patel appealed to the Pathans, who offered him their condolence and consolation, and secretly set about planning retaliation. Before many days had passed, the Thakur of Raipur, in the Dilod Pargana, was able to give them intelligence that the Rajputs of Jugdespur had started on an expedition to rob a caravan, and that only a few of their elders were left in the villages.

On hearing this news, Dost Muhammad Khan took a body of picked men, and under pretext of sport pitched his tents on the banks of the Tahal river, close to Jugdespur, and sent an envoy to the Thakur of that place to express his desire for an interview; the Rajput chiefs sent him the materials for a feast, and next day themselves appeared to pay him a visit. Dost Muhammad Khan went out to meet them, and with a great profession of friendship invited them into his tent, caused them to be seated, and when by specious compliments and professions he had completely allayed their suspicions, he rose up under pretence of distributing attar and pán. According to a preconcerted plan his own followers had been posted close round the tent as if for parade and pomp, and had been instructed that, as soon as their leader came out and asked for attar and pán, they were to sever the tent ropes, throw down the tent, and cut down the

Rajputs. Accordingly, as soon as Dost Muhammad Khan came out of the tent, his soldiers executed his orders and murdered all the Rajputs, whose bodies were thrown into the river, which from that day has been called the Halali.* Thus Jugdespur, with the women and property of the Rajputs, fell into the hands of Dost Muhammad Khan and his brother, who changed the name of the place to Islamnagar, erected a fort and substantial buildings, made it their residence, and set about subduing the surrounding territories.

In a short time having acquired considerable power and prosperity, Dost Muhammad Khan was ambitious to measure his strength with Muhammad Faruk, ruler of Bhilsa, and an encounter took place in the lands of the village of Jumal Bagri, near Bhilsa. Muhammad Faruk having despatched his forces to the fray, himself mounted an elephant, and was a distant spectator of the fight. Dost Muhammad Khan sent his army to the encounter under the command of his youngest brother Sher Muhammad Khan, and himself with a small body of men, went and lay in ambush behind Jumal Bagri's hill. The fight began: in the height of the battle, Raja Khan, Mewatti of Doráhá, thrust his spear right through Sher Muhammad Khan's body, but himself was cut in two, and both were killed on the spot. The Bhopal force turned and fled, pursued by the Bhilsa troops, and Muhammad Faruk caused the drums of victory to be beaten; Dost Muhammad Khan seeing his rival unguarded and alone, proceeded to surround him, and with great daring and intrepidity he slew Muhammad Faruk and took his escort prisoners. Then covering his face, he mounted the elephant of the slain, whose corpse he propped upright before him, at the same time compelling the drummers who had been taken captive to beat the drums of victory. The Bhilsa troops hearing from afar the sound of the State drums, and seeing their lord standing up, pressed on in pursuit of the Bhopal force. It was late in the evening when this took place. Dost Muhammad Khan

* Halali means the river of slaughter.

proceeded towards Bhilsa; the garrison of the fort taking him for their own commander, opened the gates and admitted him and his soldiers. Dost Muhammad Khan then threw down the corpse of Muhammad Faruk before the very eyes of the garrison, and made himself master of the fort.

The power of Dost Muhammad Khan was greatly increased by this victory, and in a short time Mahalpur Gulgaon, Untkhera, Gyaspur, Ambapani, Sanchit, Chorasí Chhanwah, Khamkhera, Ahmadpur, Bagrod, Doráhá, Sihor, Itchawar, Debipura, Sat, and so many parganas of Malwa came into his possession and management, that Bahadur, the subah of Malwa, alarmed at this state of affairs, drew out his army from Ujain. Dost Muhammad Khan opposed him, and by help from above, the subah was defeated, and his artillery and much war material of Ujain fell into the enemy's hands. Bijjeh Ram, amil of Shajawalpur, recognising his rising fortunes, made over that district to him, and himself accepted service under him. Dalel Khan, chief of Kurwai, came to Bairesia to pay a complimentary visit to Dost Muhammad Khan; he proposed that they should join in extending their territory, and that their acquisitions of land and property should be equally divided, but the negociations were interrupted by a quarrel in which Dalel Muhammad Khan was killed, and his adherents made their escape to Kurwai.

Gunnur was a famous fortress of the Gonds, and Nizam Shah Gond, lord of Gunnur, had been poisoned by his relative, the chief of Chainpur Bári. Raní Kumlapatí, the widow of Nizam Shah, and her son Naval Shah were living in the fort of Gunnur. The Raní hearing of the valour of Dost Muhammad Khan, invited him secretly to avenge the death of Nizam Shah on the chief of Bari. Dost Muhammad Khan, collecting his forces and being victorious, added the territories of Bári to his dominions, and became manager for the Raní Kumlapatí. When she died, he seized upon the fortress of Gunnur also, put to

death those Gonds who rebelled, and, bestowing grants according to their degree upon the rest, earned their gratitude.

Dost Muhammad Khan laid the foundations of the fort and city wall of Bhopal on Friday, the 9th of the month Zilhij, 1140 A.H. The place which was hardly more than a village, built on the side of a hill near a large lake, took his fancy, and he took active measures to promote the growth of the town. After the war between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in A.H. 1152, Nawab Kamaruddin Khan, Nizam-ul-mulk (lieutenant of the empire), in the course of his march from Delhi to Haidarabad, encamped with a large army on a hill since known as the Nizam Tekri, near the fort of Islamnagar. It was the Nizam's intention to dispossess Dost Muhammad Khan, whom he regarded as disaffected to himself, because Dost Muhammad Khan's younger brother, Mir Ahmad Khan, at the head of 500 horse and 250 camel-men, had fallen fighting on the side of Dilawar Khan, commander-in-chief of the army of the Amir-ul-Amra, in the battle of Burhanpur, in the year 1132 A.H.

Dost Muhammad Khan, not having sufficient resources to fight, pacified the Nizam by surrendering to him Yar Muhammad Khan, his own son, as a hostage.

In conclusion, Dost Muhammad Khan spent more than thirty years in increasing his renown, and received more than thirty wounds in battle; he departed this life in the 65th or 66th year of his age, and was buried in the fort of Fatehgarh in Bhopal, where the monument over his grave is to be seen to this day. The grave of his father Nur Muhammad Khan is in Bairesia; he was one of five brothers; of the others, Sher Muhammad Khan was killed in the fight with Muhammad Faruk. Alif Muhammad Khan met the same fate while fighting against Babu Rao Mahratta. Shah Muhammad Khan fell in a battle with Dewa Bhao, a commander of the Raja of Dhar. Mir Ahmad Khan was killed fighting by the side of Dilawar Ali Khan,

and Akil Muhammad Khan, who was dewan of Bhopal, and died a natural death.

Dost Muhammad Khan had six sons, Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan, Sadar Muhammad Khan, Fazil Muhammad Khan, Wasil Muhammad Khan, and Khan Bahadur Khan; he also had five daughters.

## CHAPTER II.

### CONCERNING YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN.

WHEN the news of Dost Muhammad Khan's decease was brought to the Nizam-ul-mulk (lieutenant of the empire), he told Yar Muhammad Khan of his father's death. The youth replied:—"The shadow of your highness' protection on my head supplies the place of my revered father: of what consequence is the death of one foreign Pathan?" These words pleased the Nizam, who bestowed upon him dresses of honour, a fish ensign, dignities, drums and banners, an elephant, a charger, palanquins, umbrella, sunscreen, and other insignia of sovereignty, with the titles of Amir and Nawab, and supplying him with troops, allowed him to depart for Bhopal. Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, on his arrival at Bhopal, found that, immediately on his father's decease, the officers of the army and the ministers of the State had declared for Sultan Muhammad Khan, then a boy of seven or eight years old. Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, who was eighteen years of age, dispossessed him, but granted him an estate in jaghire, and himself assumed the reins of government.

A few days afterwards, on the death of the Dewan Akil Muhammad Khan, the Nawab invested Bijjeh Ram with the office of minister, and choosing Islamnagar as his capital, he adorned it with stately buildings. He conceived the design of extending his dominions, to which in a few years he added the parganas of Sewans, Pathari,* Udehpura, &c. He was also victorious in his war with

* Pathari is now held by the descendants of Sultan Muhammad Khan. It contains twelve villages.

Kotah and Bundi, and received a large indemnity from them. In his wars with Rampura, Brikhban, and Karode, a large number of men, women, and children were taken prisoner, and also a captive maiden of great beauty of Rajput or Brahmin family, who found favour in the Nawab's eyes. He made her his wife, and advanced her to honour.

He gave battle to the Peshwa's army in the plain of Burbun Bitah, a village near Bhopal, and the Mahrattas were defeated and put to flight.

His reign lasted for fifteen years, and in the year 1167 A. H., at his destined hour, he died, and was buried in Islamnagar, where his tomb is still to be seen. His family consisted of two or four daughters and five sons, whose names were Faiz Muhammad Khan, Hiyat Muhammad Khan, Säid Muhammad Khan, Husain Muhammad Khan, and Yasin Muhammad Khan.

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## CHAPTER III.

### THE HISTORY OF NAWAB FAIZ MUHAMMAD KHAN.

ON the decease of Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, the dewan (minister) Bijjeh Ram caused Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, who was eleven years old, to be enthroned in Islamnagar, whereas Améd Rai, Tika Ram, and Ibrahim Khan, the Disciple,* and other officers of State declared for Sultan Muhammad Khan, the brother of the deceased Nawab, in the city of Bhopal. Bijjeh Ram issued from Islamnagar with a force of 5,000 men, and advanced towards Bhopal to do battle for his young master, and some indecisive artillery and musketry skirmishes ensued. When the news was brought to Holas Rai, the governor of Chainpur Bári, he marched his force also to Bhopal, and by promising to bring the quarrel with Bijjeh Ram to a very speedy termination, induced Sultan Muhammad Khan to admit him within the fort. The usurper believed him to be staunch, fell into the trap, and admitted him with all his force inside the city walls. Holas Rai, as soon as he had obtained

* No explanation of this nick-name is given in the original.

entrance to the city, contrived to man the fort and the bastions of the city walls with his own followers, and made himself master of the city gates, and without more ado expelled Sultan Muhammad Khan from the city, thereby earning for himself the gratitude and favour of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan. Immediately on his expulsion from the city, Sultan Muhammad Khan set about collecting an army. In a few days he organised a force and advanced to meet his rival.

Both sides prepared for battle on the plain near the Eedgah, outside the city to the north. The Nawab, after marching his soldiers out of the city, halted, and entrusted the command in the impending battle to his commandant of the fort, Säid Ibrahim, whom he mounted on his elephant. The battle commenced and soon became general; the soldiers on both sides fighting with ardour. Sultan Muhammad Khan, mistaking the elephant of the Fort commandant for that of the Nawab, made his way thither, and charged Säid Ibrahim, whom he slew. A panic then fell upon the army, but the Nawab brought up his reserves in person, with such effect that Sultan Muhammad Khan and Sadar Khan were forced to fly from the field, and their forces were dispersed.

After this, Sultan Muhammad Khan took refuge with Nawab Izzat Khan, chief of Kurwai; but, failing in his object there, retired to the village of Jahala on his own estate, and, winning over the commander of the fort of Rahatgurh by name Hazári to his interests, he took up his abode in that fort and began to collect the materials of war. Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan followed him up as far as Sewans, but at length agreed to bestow Rahatgurh on him, on the condition, which was formally ratified, that he and his brother Sadar Muhammad Khan should both renounce all claim to a voice in Bhopal affairs. After the settlement of this quarrel, the Nawab returned to Bhopal at his leisure, following the chase by the way, and resigned the conduct of State affairs to loyal servants and to Mamola Bibi, his

step-mother. It is said that on the day of the battle with Sultan Muhammad Khan, Lo Ram, the torch-bearer of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, was slain, and his body burnt near the Eedgah, on the banks of the Islamnagar stream, and that the Hindus erected a mound on the spot and held it sacred, then giving the stream the name of Lobheyron, by which it is known to this day.

The fort of Raisen, distant 22 miles east of Bhopal, and situated on the summit of a high hill, was in the possession of Nöid Ali Khan Kwaja Sera, commandant on the part of Alamgir the second, and owing to the feeble sway of the line of Timour in Hindustan, the commandant was rebellious. The Nawab, surprising the commandant, made himself master of the fort. Then he caused a petition to be sent to the Emperor to the effect, that evil-disposed persons, seeing the negligence of the commandant of Raisen, had designs of seizing the fort, and raising disturbances therefrom, so he had sent for that officer and had garrisoned the fort properly. The Emperor in reply sent him a firman and commission as commander of the fort, and the importance of the Nawab was increased thereby.

The Peshwa, whose capital was Poona, and whose arms had often been victorious as far as the river Attock, was desirous to revenge himself on the chief of Bhopal for the defeat he had sustained at the hands of the late Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan. Among the officers of his army was Wasil Muhammad Khan, the brother of Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan, who also incited the Peshwa to hostility. The army reached the borders of Bhopal and encamped; the Bhopalis unable to resist, yielded to the advice of the lady mother Mamola, and ceded to the Peshwa the pergunnahs of Bhilsa, Shajawalpur, Ashta, Sihor, Ichawur, Duraha, and Debipura, and by these concessions freed themselves from their powerful enemy.

Afterwards in the year 1176 A.H., Sada Sheorao, *alias* Bhao Jhanko, and Biswas Rao, passed near Bhopal on their way from the Dakkan to oppose Ahmad Shah Abdalli.

They summoned the Nawab to their camp, but he refused to visit them; whereupon the Bhao said, that, as soon as by Krishna's help he had wrested the throne of Delhi from the Turks, he would return and punish this Pathan. The Nawab retorted that by God's grace the Bhao should never accomplish his object, and in the end it came to pass that the Bhao with all his host met with their destruction at Paniput at the hands of the army of Ahmad Shah. So great a defeat it was that 22,000 Hindu women and children of gentle birth, and 50,000 horses, 2,00,000 bullocks, 500 elephants, and 20,000 camels, with countless treasure and property, became the spoil of the army of Abdalli.

At this defeat of the Dakkanis the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior fled on horseback, pursued by a Durani horseman. At the end of 14 miles the horse of the Maharaja was exhausted, and the Durani overtaking him dealt the Maharaja such a blow with his battle-axe on the knee as to break the bone; he then despoiled him of his horse trappings, arms, and clothes which he took back 14 miles again. The Bhopal people ascribed the victory of the arms of Islam and the defeat of the Dakkanis to the efficacy of the prayers of Faiz Muhammad Khan, who they held to be a saint. The Nawab was given to prayer and fasting; he was of lofty stature and of great length of arms, taciturn and a recluse, but courteous, forbearing and firm; he never used to go outside Bhopal, but his Dewan Bijjeh Ram was an efficient minister and kept the Gonds in subjection. After the death of the dewan he was succeeded by his son Ghasi Ram, who promoted Hindus to the highest offices, cut off the noses of such butchers as slaughtered cows, and was so bigoted a Hindu that two Pathans conspired and murdered him. Next was appointed Izzat Khan, but he was poisoned by a courtezan. Then Lalla Khesri Singh was invested with the office of minister. He and his son Munna Lall fell victims to the rage of the Pathans led by Yasin Muhammad Khan, the Nawab's younger brother, who found out that

Munna Lall had an intrigue with a Pathan woman. Their women in their grief at this affliction strewed gunpowder in the house and set it alight. The building was blown to pieces, and not a vestige of their remains was recovered, and the Nawab was much affected, but subsequently Yasin Muhammad Khan succeeded to the office of minister of State.

The Nawab died of dropsy on Friday the 11th of Zikat after the hour of prayer in the year 1191 A.H., and was buried in the corner of the fort, where a lofty dome was erected over his grave.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE REIGN OF HIYAT MUHAMMAD KHAN.

As Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan died childless, his younger brother Hiyat Muhammad Khan was raised to the throne by the lady Mamola and other dignitaries of the State, on Tuesday, the 1st Muharram 1192 A.H. "Khudeo Kishn Bhopal" (God for the kingdom of Bhopal) is the anagram of the date, and it appears from a certain ancient document found among the archives of the State, that after the death of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, his widow Salaha, known also as the Bhao Begam, wished herself to be vested with the executive power in the name of her deceased husband, to whose grave were to be paid the marks of respect due to a living sovereign.

On the one side Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan was a claimant for the crown, on the other was Sherif Muhammad Khan ready for civil war, and the sons of Dewan Yasin Muhammad Khan, whose death had occurred only 15 days after that of the Nawab, were prepared to raise a disturbance on their own account. The Bhao Begam had a separate force of her own fully equipped, and the State officials regularly, morning and evening, paid their respects to the grave of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan just as if in durbar. The lady mother Mamola, seeing the state of affairs, urged the Bhao Begam to set upon the throne any one of her deceased husband's brothers she pleased, because it was

necessary that there should be a man at the head of the State. At last, after much remonstrance, it was agreed that Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan was to carry on the affairs of the State under the direction of the Bhao Begam as her deputy. He was accordingly invested with the rank of deputy, and three or four months afterwards bestowed upon Dewan Chotch Khan the office of minister, and usurped the office of ruler and title of Nawab himself.

In the history of Major William Hough,* it is stated that at this time Colonel Goddard arrived in the neighbourhood of Bhopal with an English force, and met with a friendly reception from Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan, who rendered him great assistance, and the remembrance of this friendly act of the Bhopal chief has never been forgotten by the English. The book already quoted tells us that, notwithstanding that the Bhopal people were anxious for war and a rupture with the English, yet the Nawab of Bhopal continued well-disposed and friendly, and thus provoked the Mahrattas to lay waste much Bhopal territory.

Colonel Goddard's march through Bhopal occurred on the 2nd of September 1777 A.D., corresponding with the 7th Ramzan 1194 A.H. Colonel Goddard expressed much gratitude at the Nawab's kindness, and gave him a letter to the effect that the friendship between the East India Company and Bhopal would prove to be a lasting one, and that should occasion arise, the Nawab or his descendants should receive assistance at the Company's hands. At that time the revenues of Bhopal amounted to Rs. 20,00,000, out of which Rs. 5,00,000 were set apart as the privy purse of the ruler, over which sum the Financial Minister had no control, but had to provide for the cost of the army and officials of the State from the balance of 15 lacs.

This Nawab was a religious recluse, and paid but little attention to State affairs. The Bhao Begam usurped the powers of the executive, and was universally detested

* The work referred to is probably "Political and Military Events in British India," 1756—1849, Lon. 1853, 2 vols., W. Hough.

for her oppression. The Nawab had adopted four boys. the first Faulad Khan, the child of a Gond; the second Jamshed Khan, an Ahir by caste; and Islam Khan and Chotch Khan, the children of a Brahmin; they had all become Mussulmans. First Faulad Khan, with the assistance of Lala Bholanath and Darjan Singh, carried on the office of minister, till he was murdered by some members of the Bhopal family. Afterwards, on Wednesday the 15th of the month Zikat, in the year 1194 A.H., Choteh Khan was appointed minister by the advice of the lady Mamola, who was known as the lady mother, and whose wishes, although she was not titular ruler, were by reason of her age deferred to both by the principal officials and by the chief himself. She lived to the age of 80, and was remarkable for her charity and justice.

Choteh Khan had attained some proficiency in writing and accounts, and maintained friendly relations with neighbouring chiefs, such as Scindia and Holkar. On one occasion Hira Bhao Mahratta, with a body of Pindaras, pillaged and burnt in some parganas of Bhopal. Choteh Khan drew out his forces. Hira Bhao fled, and 400 Pindaras were taken prisoners. When they were brought before Choteh Khan, a pagrí and some money was distributed to each man, and they were liberated with a promise that, if they again visited his country, they would meet with different treatment, a circumstance which gave rise to a good deal of astonishment. It was Choteh Khan's opinion that it was inexpedient to inflict punishment, or exact vengeance from these men, as their audacity was derived from the encouragement of the Mahrattas, whose power had grown to such a height that he dare not punish the men, with whom he had accordingly dealt leniently, so that they might be induced not to turn their faces in the direction of Bhopal again, and accordingly, as long as Choteh Khan lived, the Pindaras abstained from molesting Bhopal.

The ministry of Choteh Khan was displeasing to the Bhao Begam, who taunted Sherif Muhammad Khan, son of Fazil Muhammad Khan, grandson of Dost Muhammad Khan,

with his submission, though one of the ruling family, to the orders of the slave set at the head of affairs by Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan, asking him if he were not ashamed to bend his head before such a man, and adding that, if she were a man, she would soon settle accounts with this menial.

Sherif Muhammad Khan replied that he could do nothing; the Nawab's authority was supreme to exalt whom he pleased. The Begam offered to supply him with money if he had the stomach to dare anything, and Sherif Muhammad Khan was thus induced to enter into her plans. Having secretly obtained the allegiance of his brethren, he proceeded to collect an army; but when the time for paying the troops arrived, the Begam refused to advance a single copper, and Sherif Muhammad Khan withdrew in disgust to Sihor. He there organised an army without her aid, and having placed his family under Wazir Muhammad Khan in the house of Mir Abdar Rasúl and Mir Abdal Baku, in the town of Ashta, then in the possession of the Mahrattas, he entertained the design of seizing the fort of Gunnur, and having tampered with Kuli Khan, the fort commandant, sent his forces thither. Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan, on hearing the news, detached Säid Kazim Ali at the head of a force of cavalry and infantry for the protection of Gunnur. The hostile parties met before the fort, and after a sharp encounter the forces of Sherif Muhammad Khan were put to flight, and on the other side Mir Kazim Ali was slain. The Nawab then sent another officer and force to Gunnur, and recalled and imprisoned Kuli Khan.

Sherif Muhammad Khan and 100 followers, with the force of the governor of Ashta and some Pindara cavalry, together with his brothers Mumtaz Muhammad Khan, Kámíl Muhammad Khan, Mashrif Muhammad Khan, Ashik Muhammad Khan, Hafiz Muhammad Khan, and Marhamat Muhammad Khan, withdrew from Ashta to Sihor and marched upon Bhopal. Choteh Khan, the minister, entrusted Husain Muhammad Khan of the Mirazi clan, and Anwar

*Khan of the Kamalgan tribe, with the command of the troops* sent against Sherif Muhammad Khan. The battle took place on Saturday, the 16th of the month Jamadi ul-awal, in the year 1201 A.H., at the village of Pandá, 10 miles west of Bhopal. The Pindara cavalry and the Ashta forces fled, while on the Bhopal side the roar of the cannon, musketry, and rockets increased. The army of Sherif Muhammad Khan gave ground till he alone with his brethren remained on the field of battle. With great valour they drew their swords and charged at full gallop, spread consternation in the Bhopal ranks, slaying many renowned horsemen, but, overpowered by numbers, were at length all killed, except Kámíl Muhammad Khan, who escaped by the speed of his horse. The heads of the slain were carried into Bhopal. The Nawab, who was overcome with grief at this event, ordered their heads to be decently buried.

After this Chotch Khan threw off all restraint, and began to show the arrogance of his disposition. He greatly oppressed the Pathans, much to the annoyance of the Nawab's brothers, who cherished a secret design of making away with the Nawab by treachery, and dividing the estate among themselves, or else of electing a chief to their own taste. Accordingly, at the festival of the Eedu'l Fitr, when the Nawab came out of the Eedgah, and, as customary, entered the old fort to pay his respects to the lady Mamola, Naját Muhammad Khan, son of Yasín Muhammad Khan, who united a powerful and athletic frame with consummate courage, introduced a band of Pathans into the old fort, and after having stationed Kuli Khan with a few soldiers at the gate, himself accompanied by Zikarma Khan and Mian Khan, proceeded to the palace where, after the usual greeting and presentation of the gifts of the season, he took a seat near the Nawab. The conversation turned on various topics which Naját Khan interrupted by observing that the Nawab had set up a slave over the Pathans, and ought to dismiss him, or give the speaker permission to kill him and put away the disgrace from his own head. The Nawab

*replied that he was no slave bought with gold, that he had brought him up as his own son, and appointed him minister* on account of his goodness and wisdom; further that he had never been guilty of treachery to bring down punishment on his head: but that if the speaker had any insult to complain of, Choteh Khan should be punished, if proved to be in the wrong. On this Naját Muhammad Khan drew a dagger and attacked the Nawab. Purs Ram, mace-bearer, who was standing listening behind the purdah, rushed in and struck Naját Muhammad Khan on the head with his silver mace. The cries also of the women summoned Ali Khan, Zulfikár Khan, Shaikh Makím and Hájí Mian, aides-de-camp to the Nawab, who, running to the rescue, entered the palace and cut down Naját Muhammad Khan and his accomplices. Kuli Khan, on hearing what had occurred, fled from the gate of the fort to Ambapani, his own estate. The Raja Bholanath, who had come to the durbar to pay the compliments of the season to the Nawab, was also killed in this affray. Choteh Khan, who foresaw that it would not be easy for him to escape the vengeance of the Pathans, killed many, banished others, and only allowed the rest to remain on their furnishing security not to molest him. He surrounded Bhopal with fortified posts, and thus, although by these arrangements, ill feeling was not altogether repressed, yet there was some improvement on the previous state of affairs.

Next Choteh Khan built a stone dam across the Ban Gunga stream on the east of Bhopal, which is known as the Pakka bridge; Mir Abid and Abid-ul-Nabi being the architects of this work. He began digging a trench round the city, but the work was interrupted by his death, and left unfinished; he also added to and repaired the fort of Fatehgarh, and built a palace in it for his own residence.

About this time the lady Mamola died. Two large and well-constructed mosques of her building are standing to this day.

Choteh Khan was *of middle stature and average size;* he affected humility in conversation, and in his manners resembled a Hindu; he died before dawn on Saturday, the 26th of Jumadi-ul-Akhir, in the year* 1209 A.H., at the age of 40 years, and was buried in the fort of Fatehgarh.

He was succeeded as minister of the State by his son Amir Muhammad Khan, who had the support of Nawab Khan, Darab Khan, Mahmúd Khan, Daúd Khan, Imam Khan, Wazír Khan, Mír Ismáil, Mír Asudalla, Mír Hátim, and others, who made him play into their hands and began to tyrannise over the people, whereupon Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan dismissed both minister and his supporters, and gave orders for their banishment from Bhopal They then rebelled, and shutting themselves up in the fort of Fatehgarh, fired upon the city and destroyed many houses, but unable to resist the force sent against them, they escaped at midnight from the fort postern with nearly six lacs of rupees extorted from the people, and making their way to Nagpúr, took service with Raghoji Bhonsla, the Raja of that city, whom they incited to attack Hoshungabad, against which place the Raja despatched an army of 40,000 men under Sakharam Bapu, Pandurang Pandit, and the worshipful Mír Khan. The Nagpúr army invested the fort; the commandant, Shaikh Makun, on being hemmed in finding his garrison of 2,000 men unequal to the contest, asked for reinforcements, and the Nawab sent 10,000 men under General Khairati Lal and Mahráb Khan. After the fighting had continued some days, Mulavi Muhammad Khan Kabuli made a sortie from the fort with a hundred Afghans, and, entering into the Nagpúr army's lines, began to smite the enemy with the edge of the sword. The Nagpúr army was broken by the onset, and some chiefs were slain, but the Mulavi's followers also were thinned, and he was making his way back to the fort, when some person fired off a musket from the rampart; the ball lodged

* About 1794 A.D.

in the Mulavi's forehead, and he fell a martyr to his cause. The enemy's forces surrounded the fort which the Bhopal army abandoned; they then crossed the Narbadda and withdrew to Bhopal, and the Nagpúrís took the fort. This occurred in the early part of the year* 1210 A.H.

Subsequently, Himmat Ram, a clerk, obtained the title of Raja and became minister of State. After the banishment of her son from the city of Bhopal, the widow of Choteh Khan went away to Seronj, where she received a pittance from Nawab Amir Khan, the ruler of Tonk, and her son Amir Muhammad Khan entered the service of Nawab Ghafur Khan, chief of Jaurah.

While† affairs in Bhopal were in this condition, one day a horseman, accompanied by a few attendants, presented himself at the city gates, and was stopped by the sentries who barred his entrance; he proclaimed himself to be Wazír Muhammad Khan, son of Sherif Muhammad Khan, and bade them inform the Nawab of his coming, and on their so doing, he was summoned to the presence of the Nawab, who received him with affection, and asked him how he had made his living since his departure from Bhopal. Wazír Muhammad Khan replied that, after he had been driven from Bhopal by the tyranny of the minister Choteh Khan, he had for a long time been in the service of Hatí Singh, a marauding Rajput chieftain of Umatwara, whence he had made his way to Haidarabad and became a soldier, and now had returned to devote his life to his country, as the accounts he had heard of the afflicted state of Bhopal had filled him with sorrow. The Nawab embraced him, saluted him as son, and hailed him as the future saviour of his country, and a few months afterwards, on the dismissal of the minister, Raja Himmat Ram, the Nawab purposed to appoint him to the vacant post, but was prevented doing so by his son Ghaus Muhammad Khan

* 1795 A.D.

† This is something like Malcolm's account.

and Asmat Begam, wife of the Nawab, who were afraid that Wazir Muhammad Khan, on attaining to power, would exact vengeance for the ill-treatment which his father had received. This representation silenced the Nawab, who consented to Hakím Saifuddín's sending for Moríd Muhammad Khan, son of Sultan Muhammad Khan, from Rahatgarh.

Moríd Muhammad Khan, escorted by a thousand followers, arrived at Bhopal on Saturday, the 12th of the month Zikat 1210 A.H., (1795 A.D.), and encamped at his father's bagh outside the city, where he spent the entire day in mourning, recalling the memory of his forefathers, and clinging, weeping to the trees. His mien was like that of a Hindu usurer. Next day he had an interview with the Nawab, with whom he so ingratiated himself by flattery, that he was preferred to the Nawab's own son Ghaus Muhammad Khan; he next went to the palace to pay his respects to Asmát Bíbí, and after the first greeting, he sat with bent knees and bowed head, while his fulsome compliments quite won her heart. His demeanour towards the soldiery, the State officials, and the public was so deferential as to gain him instant popularity; however the more far-seeing of the Pathans thought his coming boded no good, and feared for the result.

The Nawab was counselled by Hakim Saifuddin and Ghasi Mian to offer him the office of Minister, but Morid Muhammad Khan refused to accept the office until Bhopal had been freed from the power and influence of the Mahrattas. The Nawab incurred a heavy expenditure, but complied with his request, and then on the 11th of the month Jamadi-ul-awal, in the year 1211 A.H., invested him with the office of Minister, on which occasion Morid Muhammad Khan ingratiated himself with the poor by distributing money, and with the officials by presenting dresses of honour; but in one short month he altered his tone.

He began by oppressing the widow of Bijjeh Ram. Himmat Ram, with his nephew Munshi Khiali Ram, were

thrown into prison without any charge, and only released after six weeks on payment of a fine of 10,000 rupees. Owing to the growing power of the Pindarahs, he was unable to reduce the numbers of the army, but delayed to issue their pay, and after the arrears had accumulated for several months, the army mutinied. Morid Muhammad Khan extorted by force as much as he could from each family, and even proceeded to use torture, but still the sums thus realised were insufficient to satisfy the demands of the troops, and recourse was had to State loans.

It was on Saturday, the 11th of the month Rajab, in that year, that Morid Muhammad Khan visited Asmat Begam at the time of evening prayer, and addressing her as his aunt, said that the State expenses were very heavy, and the revenue inadequate to meet them, but that any reduction of the army would expose them to the attacks of their enemies, adding that unless she would supply him with some lacs of rupees, he could not distribute pay to the troops. The Begam replied that he was the Minister of the State, and should devise some means of finding pay for the army, and that she had not the money to give him. While this conversation was being held across the purdah (curtain), the minister beckoned to his companions, Shujaat Khan, Karm Khan, and Amar Khan, who rushed inside the curtain and murdered the Begam, Golab eunuch, Muhammad Ali Bohra, and others. Morid Muhammad Khan plundered the house of all the cash and property he could find, which he despatched to Rahatgurh. And in order to escape the infamy of the act, gave out that he was only executing the orders of Ghaus Muhammad Khan. After this he rebelled and shut himself up in the fort of Fatehgarh, and was guilty of great oppression; people used to pray with uncovered heads at midnight for deliverance from him, and longed for his fall.

One day he left the fort of Fatehgarh, and was rowed in a boat across the lake to the old fort, where he entered the monument of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, and having

married by nikah the daughter of a poor man, went to *sleep in the monument, but such a frightful dream disturbed* him that he got up, and with his bride re-entering the boat returned to Fatehgarh. It is said that when he was on the point of conducting his bride to his house, he appeared like a madman and came outside saying that his whole body was on fire, that as long as he was awake, he was well, but that the moment he fell asleep, terrible shapes of tigers, serpents, fiends, and devils appeared to him, seemingly bent on his destruction.

He was for ever plotting the ruin of Ghaus Muhammad Khan and Wazir Muhammad Khan, but was unable to accomplish his purpose. When Wazir Muhammad Khan set out with a few followers to drive the Pindarees from Bhopal, Morid Muhammad Khan sent a letter to Rahim Khan, governor of Bári, to put Wazir Muhammad Khan to death as soon as he should arrive. This letter was however intercepted by his intended victim, who, finding Rahim Khan off his guard, attacked him and put him to flight; his artillery and property falling into the hands of Wazir Muhammad Khan, as well as the fort of Gunnur and the post of Gurha.

About this time Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan induced Kuli Khan to come from Ambapani to his assistance by promises of appointing him Minister. Kuli Khan starting from Ambapani, and Wazir Muhammad Khan from Bári, both met at Mahalpur, and came on to Bhopal together. Wazir Muhammad Khan encamped at the Pakka bridge, and Kuli Khan halted at the village of Chulah. Morid Muhammad Khan, as soon as he heard this, called in the assistance of Bala Rao Anglia, governor (subah) of Seronj in Gwalior territory, who encamped with 30,000 men on the plain near the Eedgah, and sent a messenger that he expected one of the forts in Bhopal territory to be given up to him before he rendered any assistance. Morid Muhammad Khan agreed to surrender Islamnagar, and having appointed Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk at that time an officer in the Bhopal army to the command of the Fatehgarh fort, and to watch

Ghaus Muhammad Khan, himself accompanied Bala Rao to *Islamnagar. Kadir Muhammad Khan refused them admittance by order of Moti Begam, the sister of Nawab Hiyat* Muhammad Khan, and received them with showers of shot, whereat Morid Muhammad Khan fled and conducted the subah to the fort of Raisen, which he surrendered. The subah appointed Bhan Bul to the command of the fort, and marched to Seronj, from whence a month later, he re-appeared before Bhopal with 40,000 men and a siege train, and encamped on the plain of Gobindpura. Next day Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan and Wazir Muhammad Khan drew up their line of battle on the ground now covered by the Aish Farhat Afza and Dilkusha gardens. The earth shook with the reverberations of artillery and musketry, and the sun was obscured with the smoke of the powder, the two armies closed in a hand-to-hand encounter till the whole ground became one sanguine parterre. The subah's army broke, and Morid Muhammad Khan, with the subah, fled to Seronj. Amir Khan thereupon threw up their service and repaired to Jeswant Rao Holkar, and afterward, by a turn of fortune himself attained to the rank of Nawab.

Bala Rao imprisoned Morid Muhammad Khan for the purpose of extorting money from him, although he said that he had no money to give, till Morid was driven by fear and hardship to put an end to his life by swallowing* diamond dust. Bala Rao imagined that death was only feigned, and for two days would not allow the body to be buried until decomposition set in. The people of Bhopal look on the memory of Morid Muhammad Khan with detestation, and it is customary for any visitor to Seronj to strike his† grave five times with a shoe instead of making the prescribed prayers at the tomb of the departed.

* Swallowing diamond dust is said to be a recognised method of suicide among persons of rank.

† The Seronj officials were unable to show me the tomb on the occasion of my visit, in May 1875.—H. C. B.

After his death, Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan invested Wazir Muhammed Khan with the office of minister, and gave him full powers; his seal was engraved with this motto—"God is the King of Muhammad Wazir." The appointment of Wazir Muhammad Khan to the office of minister caused Sarfaraz Muhammad Khan, known as Kuli Khan, to retire in disgust to Ambapani.

Wazir Muhammad Khan sent a force to Raisen under Willayat Muhammad Khan, and invested the fort which is situated on a hill so high as to be out of cannon shot from below, therefore, after he had surrounded the place and cut off the supplies from without, Wazir Muhammad Khan himself appeared before the fort. Bhan Bul issued therefrom and made some show of resistance, and then retired again. The townspeople of Raisen were shut up in the fort, and as the provisions were soon exhausted, the commandant turned them out. The Bhopal army contained many Afghans, who robbed the unfortunate inhabitants and insulted their women. Bhan Bul, being reduced to the last extremity by the investment, sent Kasim Khan, Gul Khan, and Sultan Khan of Seronj as his envoys to make terms with the invader, and it was agreed that the fort should be evacuated on rèceipt of Rs. 30,000, which were paid by Wazir Muhammad Khan, and then Bhan Bul threw the cannon from the bastions into the moat, the powder into water, left the fort and marched off to Seronj. This occurred in the year 1212 A.H. (about 1797 A. D.) شد فتح راسين زامداد ايزدي "The victory of Raisen was by the help of God" is the anagram of the date.

Next Wazir Muhammad Khan led his forces to Ambapani, and having taken Sarfaraz Khan, *alias* Kuli Khan, prisoner, shut him up in the fort of Raisen, but Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan forgave his offence, released him, and restored his estate. Wazir Muhammad Khan then corrupted the commander of the Hoshungabad fort and obtained possession of the town. The Raja of Nagpúr,

on the receipt of this intelligence, despatched a large force to Hoshungabad under the command of the worshipful* Mir Khan, Pandorang and Sadopa Pandit. A battle was fought on the arrival of this army, which lasted two hours from the early morning, the Bhopalis numbering only 5,000 against nearly 40,000 Nagpuris. In the height of the battle, Wazir Muhammad Khan happened to look back, and seeing no one except Ali Sahib of the Dakkan following him, had no recourse but to turn his horse's head towards the fort: his enemies seeing him alone started in pursuit, but his horse, a very active animal, leaped clear over the moat, which was twelve yards wide, without disturbing the rider from his seat. The army of Nagpúr were confounded by this feat on the part of horse and rider, and being brought to a stand on the edge of the moat, invested the fort. Wazir Muhammad Khan maintained the unequal contest from the fort for four or five days, after which he and his followers crossed the Narbada in boats, and took refuge in the Gunnur jungles. The Nagpúr army then occupied the fort, which was on the banks of the river, and very substantially built of stone and mortar. It was destroyed by the English in the year 1252 A.H. (1836 A.D.), and only the wall fronting the river is now left standing.

Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan took umbrage at the pugnacity of Wazir Muhammad Khan, whom he would willingly have punished, but could find no one capable of supplanting him or supplying his place; for the character of Mian Wazir Muhammad Khan was as conspicuous for firmness and bravery as the disposition of Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan was yielding easy and indolent, and consequently the latter had taken alarm at the resolution and daring of the former. He did, by the advice of his son

* Mir Khan, in the original Urdu is here, and also above styled "sufed posh," or "the wearer of white clothes," a common appellation for a man of respectability, probably turned into a nickname in this case.

Ghaus Muhammad Khan, transfer the office of Minister to Akbar Khan, but he turned out incapable of managing affairs. This matter was the cause of several fights between Wazir Muhammad Khan and Ghaus Muhammad Khan, and in the fourth encounter which took place at Bishenkhera in the Tal pargana, Mirza Asud Beg and other officers of rank in Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan's service were killed. Ghaus Muhammad Khan invited Muhammad Shah Khan from Seronj, and Karim Khan Pindara from Shajawulpur, to his assistance, and both came to Bhopal. Wazir Muhammad Khan issued from the fort of Islamnagar, and encountered them in the plain near Bhopal, where the Nao Bahar (early spring) garden now is, but on account of rain coming on both factions returned to their camps. Shortly afterwards dissensions broke out between Muhammad Shah Khan and Karim Khan, and the former in company with Akbar Khan withdrawing to Seronj, the latter also marched off. On this Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan did not scruple to call in the aid of Daulat Rao Scindia, if by this means he could succeed in expelling Wazir Muhammad Khan from Bhopal. Scindia captured the fort of Islamnagar and sent Hakim Asad Ali to reduce Bhopal. Fazal Ali, brother of the Hakim, had formerly been in the service of Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan, but had been banished for some reason, and Hakim Asud Ali cherished a bitter feeling of revenge for this, as Wazir Muhammad Khan guessed from the moment of his coming, but nevertheless, by hospitality and deference, he kept the Hakim in a good humour. When the Hakim found that Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan and Ghaus Muhammad Khan lacked the ability to carry on the administration of the country, but that Wazir Muhammad Khan was prudent, brave, and wise, and possessed of the capacity for governing, he effected a reconciliation between Wazir Muhammad Khan and the Nawab, and then took his departure to Gwalior. Wazir Muhammad Khan then had free scope to reorganise the administration on an excellent footing,

undisturbed by the Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan, who continued to live in his palace, but took no more part in public business, until his death, which occurred on Wednesday, the 16th of the month Ramzan, in the year 1223 A.H. (about 1806 A.D.), in the 73rd year of his age.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE REIGN OF NAWAB GHAUS MUHAMMAD KHAN.

NAWAB GHAUS MUHAMMAD KHAN was raised to the title, but not to the power, of Nawab on the 4th of the month of Shawál 1223 A.H. Wazir Muhammad Khan, who was unrivalled for daring, about this time collected a large following of kindred spirits about himself with the intention of levying tribute upon the neighbouring territories. During his service in the retinue of Hati Singh in Umatwara, his horse's tail had been cut off. This horse of Dakkani blood, a handsome chestnut, faultless and fast, was named "Punkhraj" (king of birds). Wazir Muhammad Khan would never allow his tailless horse to be for one moment out of his sight, and thus earned for himself the sobriquet of the rider of the tail-less horse, a name which inspired such fear among the Pindaras and neighbouring States that people used to change colour and flee at the very sound of his name.

In the year 1224 A.H., Saddik Ali Khan from Nagpúr, and Tantianath from Gwalior, appeared before Bhopal with powerful armies to chastise Wazir Muhammad Khan for the ravages he had more than once committed in Nagpúr and Gwalior territories. Wazir Muhammad Khan took refuge in the fort of Gunnur: Saddik Ali Khan sent word to Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan that he had come to punish Wazir Muhammad Khan for forsaking the paths of his fathers and for the many injuries he had inflicted on the subjects of Raja Raghoji and Scindia; that if taken prisoner, Wazir Muhammad Khan should be carried away captive, but, if not, the surrender of his wife and family

was demanded. The Nawab could not overlook the ties of kindred, and gave shelter to the women of Wazir Muhammad Khan in his own palace; and he returned answer that they were welcome to carry off Wazir Muhammad Khan if they could catch him, but that his wife and children were innocent, and that they could have no quarrel with them. Saddik Ali Khan finding that the Nawab of Bhopal afforded his support to Wazir Muhammad Khan, sent him a message to surrender his son as a hostage, and thus put an end to the rupture and secure the friendship of the Raja Raghoji, who would be pleased at the sight of the youth. The Nawab was constrained by necessity to acquiesce in this suggestion, and surrendered Moizz Muhammad Khan to Saddik Ali Khan, who left a small force in Bhopal, and departed for Nagpúr. Wazir Muhammad Khan, after keeping quiet for a few days, suddenly made his appearance in Bhopal from Gunnur, expelled the Nagpúr forces from the city and fort, and took the Nawab severely to task. The Nawab excused himself, saying that he had acted according to the advice of the council; whereupon Lalji Mustapha and Lalla Rupchand, councillors, were put to death by being torn asunder by elephants; and Bakshi Beni Lall and Munshi Súraj Mall were blown away from guns. Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan, on his arrival at Nagpúr, received the first visit from Raja Raghoji by Saddik Ali Khan's interest and exertions, and was treated as a guest for a year, at the end of which time he was dismissed with a dress of honour, the Raja himself escorting him six miles on the way. The Nawab was greatly delighted at hearing the news of his son's return, and went to meet him with a great retinue as far as Narorkhandera, 36 miles from Bhopal, and brought him with great pomp to the city.

About this time Nawab Amir Khan, the chief of Tonk, passed near Bhopal on an expedition against the Raja of Nagpúr, and sought the alliance of Wazir Muhammad Khan, who accompanied him in person. The Nagpúr army was overtaken near Sagar. Wazir Muhammad Khan

was against risking an encounter on that day with troops wearied and crippled by a long march, and recommended a day's delay, but Amir Khan would not hear of it, and a battle was fought, in which the Nagpúr army was victorious. Amir Khan urged Wazir Muhammad Khan to fly, as their line of battle was broken. The latter replied, "Do you go, but while life remains, I will not turn my back upon the field." Amir Khan fled, but Wazir Muhammad Khan rallied his own troops, and notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, led them to the attack, and with great valour and impetuosity drove the enemy off the field. Sir Barry Close* was encamped within a short distance on the banks of the Narbada, with an English army, co-operating with the Nagpúr forces, which attacked Amir Khan. Wazir Muhammad Khan, on hearing this, withdrew to Bhopal, and excused himself to Amir Khan by saying that he considered himself an ally of the East India Company since the time when his ancestors afforded assistance to Colonel Goddard.

Wazir Muhammad Khan on his return march spared those zemindars who submitted, and put to death all who opposed him. He spent the rainy season in the town of Bhopal, and in the beginning of the cool season, having placed Ghaus Muhammad Khan in Raisen, entertained a body of 400 Sikh horse under Khan Singh, with whose aid he ravaged the country from Umedpúr to Bhilsa, the governor of which town under Scindia, venturing to oppose him with four regiments and a large body of Mahratta horse, was defeated in a fight, which lasted several hours, and next day the Nawab and Wazir took the fort of Bagrode, without interrupting the course of their march to Bhopal. Nawab Amir Khan of Tonk paid them a visit on their way, and departed the day following.

On the arrival of Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan at Ambapani, its owner, Sarfuraz Muhammad Khan, *alias* Kuli Khan, conducted him to his own house, where he entertained him as a guest. Wazir Muhammad Khan at

* Sir Henry Clewer in original Urdu.

this place caused Gohur Muhammad Khan to be put under restraint, and appointed Wajid Muhammad Khan to Ambapani in his stead, and informed Kuli Khan that he had deprived Gohur Muhammad Khan for disaffection, and given Kuli Khan's son his father's place. Gohur Muhammad Khan and Wajid Muhammad Khan were illegitimate brothers.

From this place Wazir Muhammad Khan marched *viâ* Raisen to the village of Chouras, on the banks of the Narbada, where he received intelligence of the approach of a Nagpúr army under Ghaus Sahib, and he awaited their arrival, in order of battle. The fight took place on the banks of the Narbada: the slain, both Hindus and Mussulmans, were counted by hundreds. Ghaus Sahib was watching the fluctuations of the fight from a secluded spot, accompanied by an escort, when some of the Sikh horsemen of the Bhopal army went in that direction. Ghaus Sahib mistaking them for his own men, there being Sikhs in the Nagpúr army also, stood his ground in perfect confidence, but the Bhopal horsemen recognising Ghaus Sahib, attacked him and cut off his head, which they took and laid at the feet of Wazir Muhammad Khan. The Nagpúr army was put to flight, and the Nawab returned victorious to Bhopal, where he was received with the intelligence that Rambol Ressaldar of Raja Raghoji had taken the fort of Mahalpúr, whither Wazir Muhammad Khan lost no time in following him, and Rambol, after a show of opposition, fled. These fights drew down upon Wazir Muhammad Khan the wrath of the chiefs of Nagpúr and Gwalior, who in the Fasli year 1219 (1812 A.D.) united for the purpose of attacking Bhopal with their allied armies. Jugwa Bapú at the head of Scindia's army, and Saddik Ali Khan, in command of the Nagpúr forces, invested Bhopal for four months till the rainy season set in, when the Nagpúr army withdrew to Hoshungabad, and Scindia's forces to Chanderi.

After the rains were over, Jugwa Bapú, Ram Lall Krishna Bhao, and Dan Singh, with 52,000 men, and Saddik Ali Khan, with 30,000, appeared before Bhopal on the

morning of the Dassera festival, and completely invested the town, which they besieged for six months. By this investment the Bhopalis were reduced to great extremities, numbers left the town, and famine killed many more, only a small population remained, the town was reduced to ruins by the cannonade, and the mines of the enemy were nearly complete. Wazir Muhammad Khan asked permission from Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan to depart to Raisen, whence, after collecting supplies and material, he would carry on the war. To this the Nawab replied:—" It was you who ravaged Nagpúr and Gwalior territory, and brought this misfortune on yourself, put your trust in God, and fight as long as breath is left in your body." Major (General) Sir John Malcolm states in his history that Maharaja Daulat Rao Scindia and Raghoji Bhonsla had agreed to reduce Bhopal and divide its territories between them, for which reason they attacked it in 1812 A.D. Jugwa Bapú had 25,000 men, Dan Singh 12 battalions and 30 guns, and the forces under Ram Lall and Krishna Bhao numbered 15,000 men,—in all an army of 52,000 men, while Saddik Ali Khan had a force of 30,000 men, so that the total of the besieging armies amounted to 82,000, while the whole force in Bhopal numbered no more than 11,000 men, of whom 6,000 were the State troops, 3,000 the followers of Namdar Khan Pindara, and 2,000 the adherents of Ratan Singh and other zemindars. This force only remained for fifteen days, for, on the sixteenth day, the Pindaras all left, and owing to the scarcity of grain, the garrison was further reduced to 3,100 fighting men, who were disposed by Wazir Muhammad Khan as follows:—The old fort was garrisoned by Dungar Singh and 100 men, the Gunnuri gate was held by 200 men under Jai Singh. Bakar Ali was in command of the Budhwara* gate with 200 men. There were 200 men under Said Barsahna, 200 under Malaim-Khan at the Itwara*

* Five gates named after days of the week.

gate; 200 under Kwaja Bukhsh Chela at the Juma* Rati gate; 400 under Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan at the Pir* gate; 200 under Karm Muhammad Khan at the Imami* gate; 500 under Lalla Galshan Rai at the Bisahazári sally port. There were 400 men posted at the Fatehgarh fort under Dil Muhammad Khan, and 100 men in the citadel under Zalim Singh, and 100 men at the Fatehgarh gate under Suji Khan. Wazir Muhammad Khan had a reserve of 500 men under his own orders to patrol the city, and render assistance at any threatened point. Ordinarily he fired 40 cannon into the enemy's camp daily, and this number was increased on occasion of his being attacked. The troops were forbidden to fire small arms, because the enemy's camp was out of range. Grain was brought by boats across the lake, and used to sell at 2 seers† (4lbs. 6 oz.) the rupee: the attacks of Dan Singh were directed against the Itwara ramparts, and of Saddik Ali Khan against the Gunnúri ramparts; the Nagpuri army made a breach in the gates and effected a lodgment in the city, but the Pathan women received them with such showers of stones and brick-bats from the roofs that they lost heart and retreated, and Wazir Muhammad Khan having chased them from the Itwara gate to the Mungulwara* gate, re-entered by the Gunnúri gate and completed their discomfiture, and was loud in his praises of the women's bravery. In the meantime grain had become scarce at one seer for the rupee, because the boats which carried grain fell into the hands of the enemy, and the scarcity became so great that the Hindus were driven to use the bark and kernels of the tamarind for food, and the Mussalmans had resort to roasting and eating leather. In February of this year, Dan Singh made repeated attacks without success, and Ram Lall attacked Wazirganj with 3,000 men, but was repulsed after a very severe struggle, in which 1,000 men,

* Five gates named after days of the week.

† The Bhopali seer = 96½ Government rupees.

were killed. By this time grain had become so scarce that a seer could not be had for two rupees, and the number of the garrison had dwindled down to 200 men. In the Mahratta army grain was selling at five seers the rupee. In March Jugwa Bapu died, and in April, Dungar Singh, who was in command of the old fort, betrayed his post to the enemy, 500 of whom he admitted within the fort. Wazír and his son Nazar Muhammad Khan, at the head of only thirty men, drove the enemy out with great bravery, and in May Saddík Ali Khan gave out that he had been warned in a dream not to fight against the Bhopalis, who were protected by a special providence, after which he broke up his camp and marched away to Nagpúr, while Scindia's force withdrew to Sarungpúr.

Below are narrated the seven principal engagements which were fought in the course of this great siege :—

*First fight.*—Jugwa, having directed his energies to the reduction of Bhopal, had concentrated his fire upon the north face of the wall with such effect that several yards of the Rampart had been knocked down. Wazír Muhammad Khan, on issuing from the Jumaratí gate with his reserve, found that two battalions of the enemy had penetrated as far as Wazír-gunj, where two pieces of artillery were masked, loaded with grape, and as soon as the enemy were well within range, the gunners discharged both pieces and stretched three hundred of the enemy on the ground. Wazír Muhammad Khan killed 30 men with his own hand. There was a loss of only one man on his side, *viz.*, his uncle Alif Muhammad Khan, who was killed, and Syud Ahmad and Ahmad Ali Khan were wounded. The enemy were put to flight, and the Muhammadans offered up thanksgiving to God. The besieged had been two days without food owing to the failure of the supply of grain, when, on the third day, Ratan Singh, zemindar of Satanbari,* brought two hundred bullocks

* The Satanbari jaghire was confiscated by the Bhopal durbar on account of the mutiny of the jaghirdar in 1857.

laden with wheat; Wazír Muhammad Khan was greatly pleased, and rewarded him with substantial marks of his favour.

*Second fight.*—Jugwa had directed an attack of his whole army upon the Pir gate. Wazír Muhammad Khan concealed his reserves in the ruined houses in the suburbs, and received the enemy when near at hand with well-directed vollies which did deadly execution in the enemies' ranks, who nevertheless surrounded Wazír Muhammad Khan till Dewan Gulshan Rai issued with his force from the Bisa Hazari sally port, and dispersing the enemy by a vigorous discharge of musketry and rockets, secured Wazír Muhammad Khan's retreat, whereupon Jugwa retired to his own camp. Ram Lall, Raja Bhao, Dan Singh, and other officers of the Mahratta army heaped reproaches on Jugwa, saying:—"You, with your large army, have failed to take Bhopal, to-morrow we will show you how to take the town in a single attack." Next morning they drew up their men in battle array and made their attack. Twenty scaling ladders were thrown against the Ganda Nala ramparts, nine near Sher Beg's sewer, five at the Jumarati gate, and nine at the Pir gate, and the storming parties were ordered to ascend.

They were opposed by Wazír Muhammad Khan and Nazír Muhammad Khan at the head of only 100 men, who gave them such a warm reception with hand grenades, stones, rockets, musketry, and grape, that they recoiled and fled. The brave defenders drew up some of the ladders and broke others, then they sallied from the city with drawn swords, cutting down all who came in their way.

*Third fight.*—One day Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan, unable longer to endure the hardships of the siege, left the city accompanied by Wazír Muhammad Khan, but they were discovered by the Mahratta army before they had reached the shrine of Mustan Shah, where Raja Bhao attacked them at the head of 10,000 infantry and 5,000 horse. Notwithstanding the greatly inferior numbers on the

Nawab's side, Wazír Muhammad Khan and party charged sword in hand into the ranks of the enemy, who were forced to give ground, while the Nawab, mounted on his horse, below the wall without the Itwara gate, was a spectator of the prowess of his warriors. Syud Khyrudin Hussain, a resident of Gulburkah, in the Deccan, motioned by a wave of Wazír Muhammad Khan's hand to ascend the walls, was so energetic in firing the cannon with his own hands as to cause consternation in the ranks of the enemy. In the meantime night came on. Wazír Muhammad Khan gave orders to Ikbal Khan Chela* to set fire to the ruined houses of the suburbs to prevent their affording cover to the enemy, while the Nawab and Wazír Muhammad Khan remained on the spot all night in their saddles till the following sunrise, when they recited the customary prayers and retired into the city.

*Fourth fight.*—On receipt of a report from Muhammad Dín Khan, that the Nagpúr army had arrived at the fort of the Gunnúri gate and set up scaling ladders against the ramparts, Wazír Muhammad Khan hastened to the spot with his followers, and by a heavy fire from the loopholes forced the enemy after an hour's resistance to retreat to their encampment.

*Fifth fight.*—Mír Muhammad Àkil Khan Majzub on ascending the bastion of Shujjá Khan, otherwise known as that of Suji Khan, apostrophized the masonry as follows:—By God's help you have been delivered into my hands; by to-morrow morning, where will you be, and where shall I be? These words were repeated to Wazír Muhammad Khan, who ascended the bastion and placing mustard seed in a shallow dish, observed that the seeds moved, from which he concluded that the bastion was undermined, and ordered it to be evacuated; next morning the forces of Jugwa Bapu assembled on the banks of Chotch Khan's water channel. On the arrival of the regiment near the bastion, the mine

* Chela means disciple, but no reason is assigned for this addition to Ikbal Khan's name.

was suddenly sprung by the besieged, and the investing battalions were completely overwhelmed in the ruins: hundreds of the enemy were killed, and the others withdrew to their own camp. Aman Singh, a patel in Pargana Rehtí, arrived that same day with two hundred bullocks laden with wheat, which had been sent by Amír Muhammad Khan.* This godsend saved the Bhopalis from starvation. Nathu Pindara, who mustered 500 horse under his orders, being encouraged by Amír Muhammad Khan to carry grain for the relief of the Bhopal garrison, gave each horseman a sack to carry, and under cover of night arrived under the walls of the old fort, but was met by the videttes of the army of Saddík Ali Khan on their rounds, to whose challenge he replied that they were an army from Raisen coming to the relief of the besieged. On this the videttes rode away to apprise their own commander, and left the way to the gate of the Old Fort clear; on entering which he was received by Wazír Muhammad Khan, who loaded him with dresses of honour and gifts, and in the morning allowed him to depart.

*Sixth fight.*—Wazír Muhammad Khan, disheartened by the length of the siege, paid a visit to the hermit Mustán Shah, at whose feet he laid down his shield and scimitar, and pleaded his own weakness and the strength of his enemies. Mustán Shah restored his shield and scimitar, and assured him that Heaven, which had sent this calamity upon him, was again receiving him into favour, and that he must go and fight with a firm trust in aid from above. Just at this time intelligence was brought him of the treachery of Dungar Singh, commandant of the Old Fort, who had introduced 1,000 men into the tomb of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan, but that Nazar Muhammad Khan, son of Wazír Muhammad Khan, with the help of Syud Hossain, Pirzada,† Bukshi Bahadur, Muhammad Khan, Mirza Kamál Beg, and Gholam Mohiuddin, had

* Elder son of Wazír Muhammad Khan.

† Pirzada, son of a saint.

attacked the force above mentioned, and by their great valour had succeeded in expelling the enemy's soldiery.

*Seventh fight.*—When the gunpowder was all expended, Wazír Muhammad Khan sent Mulavi Nizamuddin and Kazi Muhammad Yusaf, as envoys to Saddík Ali Khan (who as a fellow Muhammadan, was adverse to the conquest of Bhopal in his inmost heart, and looked askance at the war) with a message that he intended to cease fighting and take refuge in Raisen, and that he wished to retire unmolested; accordingly on that day not a cannon nor musket was fired, but late at night Nathú Pindara brought 300 bullocks laden with powder, and 200 bullocks laden with grain, sugar, and tobacco. On the receipt of the powder, Wazír Muhammad Khan gave orders for the guns to be opened, and the shot fell in the camps of Jugwa and Saddík Ali Khan causing a panic. The Mulavi and Kazi on hearing the guns, returned and reproached Wazír Muhammad Khan for sending them to treat for peace, when his intention was to continue the war, and departed to their houses in displeasure. When this supply of powder came to an end, there was another difficulty, when an old man, whose father had been abdar to Nawab Yár Muhammad Khan, informed Wazír Muhammad Khan that his father used to say that something, he knew not what, had been stored in a certain bastion. Wazír Muhammad Khan caused the bastion to be opened, and came upon a vault containing 500 bags of powder, and was enabled to reopen fire from the walls.

One effect of this prolonged siege was to poison the air, and a pestilence broke out in the besieging army which counted its victims by hundreds; the horses also were reduced to skeletons for want of grass, and the troops had become demoralised. Saddík Ali Khan, on pretence of being warned by a dream, went away to Nagpúr. Jugwa Bapu was so chagrined that he destroyed himself by swallowing a diamond, and his followers having burned the body near Islamnagar, marched away to Gwalior, and thus the Bhopalis found themselves relieved from the horrors of the

siege. By their conduct in these fights, Wazír Muhammad Khan and his two sons had their perseverance, innate bravery, and fortitude tried by the severest tests, and proved to be true metal.

Daulat Rao Scindia, displeased at the return of his army, despatched Sir (*sic*) John Baptiste, a Frenchman, and Jeswant Rao Mahratta in command of a second army to Bhopal, on which Wazír Muhammad Khan besought the aid of Sir John Ochterlony at Delhi, to whom he despatched a copy of the testimonial given by Colonel Goddard, together with presents and curiosities in charge of Mulavi Nizam-uddín and Kazi Muhammad Yusaf, while all his energies were taken up in collecting stores of grain. By good luck a quarrel arose between the two generals of Scindia's army, which culminated in a battle between their respective forces in the neighbourhood of Sehore, after which they drew off, and Bhopal was saved. In the meantime the two envoys, having reached Delhi, delivered their gifts and the letter with which they were charged, and received a favourable reply from the Colonel, by whose intervention Scindia consented to refrain from molesting Bhopal. Relieved from further anxieties on the above account, Wazír Muhammad Khan undertook an expedition against the Pindaras in Sewans and Chipanir, whence he despatched an embassy consisting of Karm Muhammad Khan, Muhammad Din Khan, and Inayat Massih to the Raja of Nagpúr to seek his friendship in place of the hostility which had hitherto existed. After their departure he went to Raisen, and at the close of the rainy season he made an expedition to Tunirávan, and falling ill there, proceeded to Devari, where he expired of a fever on Saturday, the 16th of the month Rabi-ul-Akhir, in the year 1231 A.H. (1816 A.D.) Hakím* Shahzad

* Shahzad Massí and his father were Roman Catholics, and Shahzad Massí's name was Balthazar Bourboín; his widow is still living in Bhopal, where she enjoys a jaghir of Rs. 40,000 per annum, and is known as Madame De Lane, a probable corruption of the word "doolun," or bride, the first name by which she was known in Bhopal having

Massí, son of Hakím Inayat Massí, had the corpse conveyed to Bhopal, whither he himself with the army in funeral procession accompanied it, and caused it to be interred in a garden on the north side of the city. He died in the 52nd year of his age, and the 20th of his absolute power in Bhopal. In his later days his estimation and importance was enhanced by a friendly correspondence with Mr. Carnac, General Brown, W. Jenkins, His Lordship the Governor-General Lord Minto, W. Metcalfe, Colonel Samuel, and other distinguished English gentlemen, whose letters are still preserved in the archives of the State.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CONTAINING THE EVENTS OF NAWAB NAZIR-UD-DAULA NAZAR MUHAMMAD KHAN.

WAZIR MUHAMMAD KHAN left two sons; the elder, with his lofty courage, taking no interest in the affairs of the State; the younger, Nazar Muhammad Khan, was acknowledged as chief with the title of Nawab Nazír-ud-Daula, and in a very short time he effected great improvements in the administration of the State and of the army. First, by the representation of Mulavi Nizamudín to the English Resident at Delhi, he was persistent in his endeavours to obtain a treaty from the English Government, and displayed himself in the best lights to English officers. Ghaus Muhammad Khan, who after the siege of Bhopal by Jugwa had sunk into insignificance beside Wazír Muhammad Khan, without any real authority outside his own house at this time, lost even the semblance of power, and was allowed by Nazar Muhammad Khan to live peaceably on the proceeds of an estate granted to him for maintenance. On Friday, the 22nd of

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stuck to her ever since. There are about 150 Roman Catholics now living in Bhopal, of whom this lady is the head.

Shahzad Massí, *alias* Balthazar Bourboín, lies buried in the Roman Catholic Burial Ground, in the Civil Lines, at Agra, where there is grave.

the month Rabi-ul-Akhir, in the year 1233 A.H. ( =1818 A.D.), was celebrated the marriage of Nazar Muhammad Khan with Gohur Begam, daughter of Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan.

When the English army, entrusted to General Adams for the extirpation of the Pindaras, was assembling at Hoshungabad, Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan despatched Hakím Shahzad Massí thither as an envoy, and rendered every assistance in his power to the English army, and as soon as the army crossed the Narbada, repaired in person to Raisen, where he had an interview with the general, and ordered Hakím Shahzad Massí at the head of some hundreds of horse and foot to accompany the army, which he did as far as Kotah.

Notwithstanding the anarchy and poverty into which this State had been thrown by the Mahratta conquest and the protracted siege of Jugwa, whereby a loss of revenue exceeding 12 lacs of rupees had been sustained, Nazar Muhammad Khan raised by the sale of ornaments and jewels a sum of 51 lacs of rupees, which he expended in rendering assistance to the English army, from which time his sterling friendship and loyalty have been impressed upon the hearts of the English officers. For these services he received at the hands of the British Government five parganas and the fort of Islamnagar, with deed of grant and medal.

On Thursday, the 22nd day of the month Muharram, in the year 1235 A.H., in the course of a visit to Islamnagar, made for pleasure and sport, while sleeping in his own house in the afternoon, he scratched his ear with a loaded pistol, which went off, the ball passed through his head and lodged in the wall, causing instant death. Another account is that, while he was engaged in dandling his infant daughter, the Sikandar Begam, in his lap, his brother-in-law Faujdar Muhammad Khan, a boy of eight years of age, drew unobserved a loaded pistol from the waist belt of the Nawab, who was shot through the head by the discharge,

accidental or no, of the pistol. This latter is the more correct account, for it is to be found in the history of Major William Hough. His reign lasted in all three years nine months and six days, and his death occurred at the age of twenty-eight years; he is buried in the great garden, near his father, and on his tomb, which is still be seen, are inscribed the following lines:—Nazir-ud-Daula, the incomparable, died an instant martyr to the discharge of a pistol. To the enquirer of his age an unseen voice replies, subtract one year from the words Nazir-ud-daula.

The following is the treaty made by the English Government with Nawab Nazir Muhammad Khan:—

*Article 1st.*

There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the Honourable the East India Company and the Nawab of Bhopal, his heirs and successors; and the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both.

*Article 2nd.*

The British Government engages to guarantee and protect the principality and territory of Bhopal against all enemies.

*Article 3rd.*

The Nawab of Bhopal and his heirs and successors will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connection with other chiefs and States.

*Article 4th.*

The Nawab and his heirs and successors will not enter into negociation with any chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government. But their usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations, and necessary correspondence with neighbouring zemindars and managers on matters of small importance shall continue.

*Article 5th.*

The Nawab and his heirs and successors will not commit aggression on any one: If by accident disputes arise with any one, they shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

*Article 6th.*

The State of Bhopal shall furnish a contingent of six hundred (600) horse and four hundred (400) infantry for the service of the British Government. Whenever required, and when necessary, the whole of the Bhopal forces shall join the British army, excepting such a portion as may be necessary for the internal administration of the country.

*Article 7th.*

The British troops are to be at all times admitted into the Bhopal territory, the commanding officers of such troops using their utmost endeavours to prevent injury to the crops or other damages, and if necessary shall cantoon there; in which event the Nawab engages for himself, his heirs and successors, on application to that effect to cede to the British Government to serve as a depôt the fort of Nuzzurghur or of Gulgaon with ground to the distance of 2,000 yards all round the fort.

*Article 8th.*

The Nawab, his heirs and successors, will afford every facility to the British troops in obtaining supplies; and all articles of supply required for them shall be purchased in and pass through the Nawab's territory free of duty.

*Article 9th.*

The Nawab and his heirs and successors shall remain absolute rulers of their country, and the jurisdiction of the British Government shall not in any manner be introduced into that principality.

*Article 10th.*

The Nawab having exerted himself and employed the resources of his government with zeal and fidelity in the late service against the Pindaries, the British Government, in order to mark its approbation of his conduct, and to enable him to maintain the stipulated contingent, hereby grants to the Nawab, his heirs and successors in perpetuity the five mahals of Ashta, Sehawur, Sehore, Doraha, and Debipura to be held by them in exclusive authority.

*Article 11th.*

This treaty, consisting of eleven articles, having been concluded at Raisen, and signed and sealed by Captain Stewart and by Kurrim Muhammad Khan Bahadoor, and by Shahzad Massi Sahib. Captain Stewart engages to obtain the ratification of the Governor-General within three weeks from this date; and Kurrim Muhammad Khan and Shahzad Massi engage to obtain the ratification of the Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan in two days.

Done at Raisen, this 26th day of February A.D. 1818, corresponding with the 20th Rabiul Sani 1233 of the Hijira.

*Note.*—This treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Governor-General at Lucknow on the 8th day of March 1818.

(Signed) HASTINGS.

After the completion of the treaty followed the appointment of a Political Agent. The neighbourhood of Sehore was selected by this gentleman as a residence, a piece of land being marked out as a site for a cantonment; in accordance with the terms of the treaty, a force of 1,000 men, part cavalry and part infantry, from among the Bhopal army, were quartered at Sehore and placed under the orders of the Political Agent, but continued to receive their pay every month from the State until the regency of the Nawab* Kudsia Begam in the Fasli† year 1233, when an agreement was entered into, by which the State were to pay to the English Government the sum of Rs. 1,30,000 annually as the pay of this force, which received the name of the Bhopal Contingent. Afterwards this sum was increased by Rs. 10,000 in the year 1250 Fasli, in the time of the late Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, and finally in the year 1257 Fasli during the regency of the Nawab Sikandar Begam, the annual payment was fixed at the sum of two lacs of rupees, and an agreement was added by the English Government to the treaty to the following effect, that "whereas the 6th article of the treaty of 1818 A.D. (1233 A.H.), between His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal and the Honourable East India Company provides that the State of Bhopal shall furnish a contingent of 600 horse and 400 foot for the service of the British Government, and it having been subsequently arranged with the consent of both parties that the force in question should be commanded solely by British officers, and that the provision of the stipulated number of men should be commuted for a payment in money equal to the maintenance of a suitable body of all arms, artillery, &c., as well as

* Kudsia, this lady, still living, is the Gohur Begam, mentioned above as the lady whom Nazar Muhammad Khan married. She is the mother of the late Sikandar Begam, and grandmother of the present Nawab Shah Jahan Begam, and was born in 1801 A.D.

† The Fasli year is the era ordinarily in use in many States of Malwa.

horse and foot; and whereas it is desirable that the sum so payable should be fixed, and the Regent Begam of Bhopal having offered to raise the contribution for this purpose to a gross sum of two lacs of rupees in all, and the Governor-General of India having accepted the offer thus made: it is hereby agreed that, from the beginning of the Fasli year 1257, corresponding with the 1st July 1849 A.D., the sum payable by the Bhopal State on account of the perpetual maintenance of a contingent shall be fixed at two lacs of rupees Bhopal currency per annum, and that no further sum shall be demanded from the Bhopal State under provision of the 6th article of the treaty, 1818 A.D., and 1233 Hejira.

Ratified by the Most Noble the Governor-General (Marquis of Dalhousie) at Bhyrosal, this 25th day of November 1849, A.D.

(Signed) H. M. ELLIOTT.

This is a translation of the grant of Islamnagar:—"Whereas your sincerity and friendship has favourably impressed the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General; His Excellency, by way of showing his approval of your conspicuous exertions and assistance, and the services of your army which has been associated with the English force at present employed in the affairs of the district of Malwa, has determined that the fort and town of Islamnagar, with its environs, which in former times belonged to your ancestors, be granted in sovereignty to you and your heirs for ever. Therefore His Excellency has granted to you and your issue in perpetuity the fort, the town, and the environs thereof, and is confident that in return for this gift you will continue to show still greater proofs of your friendship and loyalty.

"Dated Saturday, the 3rd October 1818 A.D., corresponding with the 22nd Zilhij 1233, A.H., and the 3rd of the waning moon of the month of Kwar 1226 Fasli era and 1875 Sambat era.

## CHAPTER VII.

### CONCERNING THE EVENTS OF THE REGENCY OF THE GOHUR BEGAM.

On the death of Nawab Nazír-ud-Daula, Mian Karim Muhammad Khan, and Hakim Shahzad Massi, with the consent of Major Henley, Political Agent in Bhopal, invested the Gohur Begam with the supreme authority in the State, they themselves carrying on the administration of affairs as her deputies. They also, with the sanction aforesaid, caused the words "Nawab Kudsia Begam" to be engraved upon the seal. The exact age of the Nawab Kudsia Begam on the day of the death of the Nawab Nazir-ud Daula was 18 years 6 months and 14 days, and that of the Sikandar Begam was 1 year and 3 months. The lieutenants of the State, with the concurrence of the Political Agent, agreed that the future husband of the Sikandar Begam, whoever he might be, should be acknowledged chief of the State.

Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan left sixteen children, eight sons and eight daughters, whose names are given below:—Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, Hátim Muhammad Khan, Bahadur Muhammad Khan, Adil Muhammad Khan, Akbar Muhammad Khan, Awiz Muhammad Khan, Amrau Muhammad Khan, Sirdar Bibi, Sahib Begam, Wazír Bibi, Ladu Bibi, Jumayut Bibi, Amanat Bibi, Ewaz Bibi, and the Nawab Kudsia Gohur Begam. Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan died on the 23rd Muharram 1242 A.H. (1827 A.D.)

By the advice of the Political Agent an agreement was entered into by Nawab Munír Muhammad Khan, son of Mian Amír Muhammad Khan, son of Wazír Muhammad Khan, that he would continue to render obedience to the Kudsia Begam, and his father executed an agreement to abstain from all interference in the affairs of the State, after which the Nawab Sikandar Begam was formally betrothed to Nawab Munir Muhammad Khan. Afterwards the Kudsia Begam broke off the match on a false pretext of impotence, alleged against the bridegroom, who

prepared to enforce his claim by an appeal to arms. To prevent this by the advice of Hakím Shahzad Massi, a force under the command of Bakshi Bahadur Muhammad Khan was sent to surprise him by night, and for four days there was strife and bloodshed between the contending parties. Thomas Herbert Madocks, the Political Agent in Bhopal, wrote to the Nawab Kudsia Begam that he was coming to her assistance, and that Captain Johnstone would at once proceed to Bhopal from Sehore and put a stop to the fighting, but that, in the meantime, she was to do her best to terminate the struggle before his arrival; the upshot being that Munir Muhammad Khan gave up his estate of the value of Rs. 44,000 a year, while his younger brother, Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, was selected by the chief of the State, with the consent of the Political Agent, as a husband for the Sikandar Begam. The title given him was "Nawab Nazir-ud Daula Shamsher Jung," but he was commonly called the bridegroom Nawab (Nawab Dula).

At this juncture occurred the death of Hakím Shahzad Massi, of consumption in the 43rd year of his age on the 24th of Jumadi-ul-akhir 1244 A.H., corresponding with the Fasli year 1236, and the 1st July 1829, A.D. Mulavi Abdul Kadir and Mulla Shahabuddin were, at the suggestion of Mr. Wilkinson,* the Political Agent, appointed by the

* Lancelot Wilkinson, of the Bombay Civil Service, died near Sehore in 1841, after being Political Agent in Bhopal for 11 years, with an interval when he was employed at Kotah, his brother was Resident at Nagpur, and I have been told by an inhabitant of Sehore that Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson had before his death been offered either the Secretaryship to the Bombay Government on Rs. 3,000 per mensem, or the Residency at Lucknow. His pay at Sehore was Rs. 2,000. His local reputation still survives, and he is considered to have been the ablest of the able men, who from time to time have occupied the position of Political Agent in Bhopal, among whom the Captain Alves here mentioned became Agent to the Governor General for Rajputana; Mr. Madocks, of the B.C. S., rose to be Foreign Secretary; Sir Henry Marion Durand was Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab; and Colonel Eden became Agent to the Governor General for Rajputana.

Nawab Kudsia Begam, to be the instructors of the bride-groom elect, and Mir Wasil Ali was selected as his tutor by the Political Agent. Mr. Wilkinson soon afterwards was succeeded by Captain Alves, who enquired of the Regent when the investiture of the Nawab, with the conduct of affairs was to take place; her reply was, when he attained the age of 19 or 20 years.

However, on the occasion of the visit of the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to Saugor, the Nawab Dula, accompanied by Kurm Muhammad Khan, Madaralmaham, and Dewan Khushwakt Rai, went there in great state, and being honored by an interview and a dress of honour, preferred a request for the celebration of the marriage and the investiture of himself with the conduct of affairs, upon which Lord William Bentinck instructed Major Alves to advise the Kudsia Begam to hasten the marriage, but added that the conferment of supreme power might be deferred for the present.

The Kudsia Begam received the report of this conversation with great displeasure, and expelled from the city Sadulla Khan, Ibriham Khan, and others, whom she suspected of being adverse to her interests. Kurm Muhammad Khan died in the beginning of the year 1250 A.H., and the Nawab Kudsia Begam tried to appoint her younger brother, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, to the office of minister, but was obliged to give that post to Dewan Khushwakt Rai, who received the title of Raja.

Ali Shah, Kuli Khan, Muhammad Tarab Khan and others were the associates of the Raja, while Hakím Gholam Hosain Khan and Hakím Bahadur Ali Khan were the chief favourites of the Nawab Kudsia Begam. After this Major Alves was transferred to Ajmere; Lancelot Wilkinson, returning in his place, began a series of questions on the subject of the marriage according to the former suggestion of the Governor-General, and on Friday, the 18th of the month Zilhij, 1250 A.H., corresponding with 1242 Fasli, and the 18th of April 1835 A.D., the marriage was celebrated with great rejoicings.

In a few days' time the Nawab applied to be invested with the sovereign power. Mr. Wilkinson spoke to the Begam on the subject in a friendly manner, and Raja Khushwakt Rai, after considering the claims of the contending parties, was on the point of proposing a settlement favourable to the Nawab. On the 11th of the month Rabi-ul-akhir 1252 A.H., the fete in commemoration of Sheikh Abdul Kadir Gailani was celebrated with illuminations. All the kindred of the ruling family and all the officers of the army were assembled when Hamir Singh informed the Sikandar Begam that the Nawab had secretly collected people for the purpose of putting her and the Kudsia Begam to death, and that Sadulla Khan, who had been banished the State, was at the well of Chandan Khiyat (tailor) near the city at the head of a party of Afghans awaiting the signal to assassinate her. The two Begams on hearing this, first completed the ceremony of "fáteha" and then retiring within their palace, sent Kuli Khan with 30 horsemen of the "Yaka,"* their own body-guard to keep the Nawab in confinement and prevent his escape. Mastajáb Khan and Thakúr Hamír Singh, the Nawab's comrades, were thrown into prison, while Mir Amir Ali was given 100 horse, and charged with the capture of Sadulla Khan. Sentries were posted both inside and outside the palace of the Nawab, who was closely watched, and fifty of his adherents were straightway expelled from the city. Anwar Ali failing in his object, returned after scouring the country as far as the confines of the Bhopal territory near Bhilsa. Certain of the officials of the State suspected of complicity were discharged and banished from the city. Mr. Lancelot Wilkinson repeatedly urged the advisability of terminating this quarrel, but without effect.

Then Mian Àmír Khan, Nawab Munír Muhammad Khan, and Asad Ali Khan, maternal uncle of the Nawab, went to

* Yaka, the name given to the bodyguard. It means "one," and the name was given, because each man of the corps was entertained and paid according to his individual merits.

Sehore for the purpose of conferring with the Political Agent on the best means of procuring the release of the Nawab. They entertained several hundred horse and foot, and sent Ghaffúr Khan to Bhopal with a spare horse. He reached the suburbs just at dusk in the evening of the 24th Zilhij 1252 A.H., and halted at the tomb of Mulavi Ziá-uddín, whence he secretly sent a message to the Nawab, who disguised himself, and in company with Mir Asad Ali traversed the streets of the city on foot, as far as the Bhopal hill, where they each mounted a horse and rode off to Sehore, which place they reached at midnight, taking only two hours to ride the distance 20 miles. The Political Agent came out of his house to meet them, received them with great distinction, and ordered a salute of 11 guns to be fired in their honour. The Nawab, by the advice of his father, brother, and uncle, borrowed money from the local bankers, enlisted a thousand soldiers, with whom he issued from Sehore, and expelling the Kudsia Begam's governors from Doraha, Devipura, and Jaharkhera, occupied these places himself. At this juncture the Political Agent wrote to the Begam again to the effect that, although he had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the State, he begged her as a friend to arrange the difficulty, and the result was a conference at the house of the Political Agent in which Raja Khushwakt Rai and Hakím Gholam Hosain Khan appeared for the Begum, and Asad Ali Khan and Mir Wasíl Ali* on the part of the Nawab. The contention of the Begam's representatives was that the Nawab should consent to act under the Begam for a period of ten years before receiving the supreme power, whereas the Nawab's agents would only agree to a period of three years, and as this difficulty could not be settled, the conference broke up with no hope of an amicable adjustment.

* Mir Wasil Ali was a native of Shujawalpur in Gwalior territory, latterly he has been one of the chief dependents of the present Nawab of Rajgarh, a Rajput convert to Islam, he fell a victim to the cholera epidemic which broke out in June 1875 at Rajgarh.

The Nawab won over Shahamut Khan, commandant of Ashta, and obtained possession of that fort, and the Begam on receipt of the intelligence sent a force under Raja Khushwakt Rai to oppose him. Lala Baijnath was deputed by the Political Agent to watch the course of events. On the 19th of the month Rabí-ul-Akhir 1253 A.H., the Bhopal army arrived at the plain of Maghtí, two miles from Ashta. The Nawab, accompanied by Sadulla Khan, Kan Singh, Mír Asad Ali, Fázíl Muhammad Khan, lord of Ambapani, Mir Wásil Ali, his uncle, and Ibrahim Khan, marched out of Ashta and drew up his army in battle array. Mir Wasil Ali and Ibrahim Khan were the bearers of a message to the Raja to advance no farther, but to retire to the village of Kothra, whence anything he had to communicate might be sent, to which the Raja replied that his soldiers were hungry and thirsty after their march, and unable to go further. He dismissed the envoys saying that he should halt with his force on the banks of the Punbás river, and would send word the following day what course he thought proper to adopt. On which the two envoys retired. In the meantime the report of firearms from some quarter or other brought on a general action, in which the musketeers and artillery took part. Kan Singh, attempting to cut off the Raja in a cavalry charge, was opposed by the Bhopal troopers, who killed him and brought his head to the Raja, who in his turn sent it to the Begam. Sadulla Khan, at the head of his Willayatís, attacked the Bhopal infantry, and wounded Bukhshi Iradat Khan, the commander of the forces, but was compelled to fall back. In short, the fight only lasted an hour, but nearly 300 men were killed, the soldiers of the Nawab who were only recruits lost heart, but the Nawab stood his ground on the field with great resolution. Malik Haidar Khan, reputed the best horseman and bravest man in the Bhopal army, attacked the Nawab,* who,

* The present jamadar of chaprassis, and the mace bearer of the Political Agent, attended Baijnath on this occasion, and were witnesses

avoiding the direct attack, killed his assailant with a spear thrust. Ali Shah, Golam Shah, Asghur Hosain, Zuhúrúddín, Hakím Bahadur Ali Khan, commanding the Bhopal army, advanced, the Nawab retired slowly and in good order to the fort, when the Raja halted his army on the banks of the Punbas river under the fort.

On the 25th of the same month, some Bhopal officers attacked the bazaar of Nazarganj, and in the action 40 men were killed, and the bazaar plundered. The rainy season caused great suffering in the Bhopal army, and a flood of the Punbas which occurred on the 20th of Jumadi-ul-awal 1253 A.H., corresponding with the 23rd of August 1837 A.D. swept away much grain and other property of the Bhopal force.

About this time a letter from Calcutta from Mr. Macnaghten, Foreign Secretary to the Governor-General, on the subject of putting an end to this strife, was received by Mr. Wilkinson, who sent Beni Pershad, the Mir Munshi of the Agency to Ashta, and by his advice the Raja withdrew with all his army to Bhopal on the 9th of Jumadi-ul-akhir 1253 A.H., corresponding with the 10th September 1837 A.D. The Nawab went to Sehore with all his army, and one Girdhari Lall was appointed amil of Ashta by the Political Agent, who a few days afterwards marched with the English force cantoned at Sehore to Bhopal, and encamped near the garden of Wazír Muhammad Khan. He informed the Begam that she could not be permitted to break her promises and engagements, that the Governor-General's instructions were that she was to surrender the direction of the State to Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, and that the East India Company would be guarantee for the protection of her life, property, honour and life-estates; these conditions the Begam was perforce fain to be content with. The Political Agent was

of the fight. They have told me that Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan had trained his horse to jump sideways at a touch of the spur, to which circumstance he probably owed his life on this occasion.—H. C. B.

so pleased at her acceptance of the terms that he included in her estate 816½ villages, the revenues of which, amounting to Rs. 498,642-8, have up to this time been appropriated to her separate use; he also bestowed upon Raja Khushwakt Rai an estate of Rs. 24,000 per annum out of the State revenues.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE ACCOUNT OF THE REIGN OF NAWAB JAHANGIR MUHAMMAD KHAN UP TO THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

ON the first of the month of Ramzan 1253 A.H, the Nawab was invested with the supreme authority at the instance of the Paramount Power in the presence of Lancelot Wilkinson, Esquire, Political Agent, and the principal officers of Bhopal. Asad Ali Khan, the Nawab's uncle, was appointed First Minister, and Mir Wasil Ali was made vakil, in like manner all the Nawab's associates received good appointments. For a few days the Nawab and the Sikandar Begam remained on good terms with each other, and she became *enceinte*, but interested parties soon made mischief between them. On the night of Wednesday, the 2nd of the month Safar 1254 A.H., the Nawab, in a fit of jealousy at the Begam's continuing in public, not only contrary to the Muhammadan religion in general, but especially obnoxious to Pathan usage, inflicted on her hands a sword-wound,* which required four stitches to sew up. On Monday, the 7th of the month Safar, the Sikandar Begam, accompanied by her mother and all their retainers, withdrew to Islamnagar. On the 18th of the month Safar, Munshi Jumal-uddin Khan went to Indore, whence he brought Muhammad Shujaát, surgeon, to attend the Begam, who, the wound having healed, took the bath of convalescence on the 10th of Rabi-ul-awal. On the 6th of the month Jamadi-ul-awal 1254 A.H., I† was born at Islamnagar.

* The wound was on her leg.—H. C. B.

† Her Highness the Nawab Shahjahan Begam.—H. C. B.

The Nawab was devoted to making excursions and to the chase, and such was his liberality and munificence that neither native nor alien went away empty-handed. In the year 1256 A.H., he founded the quarter of Jahangirabad, and assisted every one who built a house there with money out of the treasury. He collected men of learning about him, and appreciated the excellence of each at his true worth; he was unparalleled for skill in all military exercises, but in the flower of his youth, his digestive powers failed, and notwithstanding the treatment of Hakím Waris Ali Khan, there was no improvement in his health. My mother, the Nawab Sikandar Begam and I, came over from Islamnagar to pay him a farewell visit, and on the 28th of the month Zikát 1260 A.H., he departed this life in the 27th year of his age, and was buried in the Nur Bagh. Of average height, slender build, fair complexion and handsome, courteous, honourable, a good rider and swordsman, devoted to the chase especially of tigers, skilled in the use of lance and gun, he was accessible to all, and munificent in his liberality. He wore his own hair on his head, and a small beard, and had some reputation as a poet, as the accompanying specimen of his verses shows:—

The tortures of the judgment-day,
Which neither eye nor ear may tell,
When love my heart began to sway,
Did in my trembling bosom swell.

The halo's circle's soft embrace
Around the moon so closely drawn,
To me recalled the empty place,
Beside my grieving heart forlorn.

My brain reeled at the dizzy maze,
The tresses, thick unreeling coils,
Mine was the victim's willing gaze,
Entangled in those silken toils.

The victim's bleeding heart laid bare,
With chilly gasp and shivering shock,
Has tinctured with its own despair
The cold unsympathetic rock.

'Tis Dula* sings this lay, and e'er
Could Nasikh sage these lines peruse,
His title to the Laureates's chair,
He would perforce in shame refuse.

During his rule a great cheapness of grain prevailed. In the villages the best kind of wheat has been sold as cheap as 80 seers for the rupee, and in the city for 50 seers, and other things were cheap in proportion. From this reign the visits and intercourse of men of learning and distinction increased, and from his time dates the attachment to education and learning, which has distinguished the chiefs of Bhopal, who hitherto had courted only the arts of war. The learned Mulavi Sherif Hosain of Delhi was appointed State Kazi, and the services of many learned men, poets and munshis were secured. The incomparable savant, Sheikh Ahmad, Arab of Shurwun, the author of the "Nufhuth-ul-Yaman," and "the Hadaiyat-al-Afrah" and the "Ayak-ul-Ajaab," &c., visited Bhopal in the time of the Nawab, in whose honour he composed the "Shums-al-ikbal" in couplets, in very choice and elegant Arabic.

The exact length of his reign was seven years two months and twenty-eight days.

End of the first part of the "Taj-ul-ikbál."

* Dula (bridegroom), the Nawab, was always called the "Nawab Dula," from his being chosen as husband of the Sikandar Begam.

# PART II.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF MIAN FAUJDAR MUHAMMAD KHAN.

AFTER the death of Nawab Nazír-ud-dúla Jahangir Muhammad Khan, Shumsher-jang, Captain Henry Trevelyan, the then Political Agent in Bhopal, reported on the state of affairs to the Governor-General, and in the mean time instructed Asad Ali Khan to continue the administration of State business until the pleasure of the Paramount Power should be known. On the 12th day of the month of Muharram 1261 A.H., the Political Agent sent for the chief men of the State to whom he communicated the orders of the Paramount Power to this effect, that the Shahjahan Begam was to be the chief, with Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan as Minister, and that all were to pay allegiance to them. This order was submitted to by all, and Asad Ali Khan, after his dismissal, departed to Basoda, his private estate.

Faujdar Muhammad Khan, once installed in the office of minister, appointed his own creatures to the highest offices in the State, and carried on the Government after a fashion of his own. About the end of the same month, the Kudsia Begam, the Sikandar Begam, and I arrived in Bhopal from Islamnagar on the 11th April 1845, corresponding with the 3rd Rabi-ul-akhir 1261 A.H. The Governor-General addressed a letter to my mother, condoling with her on the death of the Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, and stating that in accordance with the custom of succession in Bhopal, the Shahjahan Begam was proclaimed chief, with the consent of the nobles and chief officers of Bhopal, and with the sanction of the English Government, in the same manner that she herself had been proclaimed chief on the

death of her father Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan, and that on the Shahjahan Begam's marriage, her husband would become the chief. Until her majority and marriage, the affairs of the State would be under the superintendence of the Political Agent, and the management of the administration would be entrusted to Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, the youngest son of Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan, in whose ability and fidelity the Governor-General expressed his confidence; also that the Political Agent would ask her (the Sikandar Begam's) advice in any matter of great importance before giving final orders, and that the guardianship of the Shahjahan Begam was entrusted to her care.

After a few months had elapsed, the best officers of the State, including Mír Wasil Ali, Ahmad Khan, commandant of Artillery, and others, disgusted at the want of attention paid them by Faujdar Muhammad Khan, left Bhopal for Sehore on the 20th of the month Shawál 1261 A.H., whence they sent a petition to Mr. R. C. Hamilton, the Resident at Indore, to the effect that they had submitted to Faujdar Muhammad Khan, in accordance with the orders of the Paramount Power, but that he excluded them from the State receptions, so that they were unable to pay their respects to the chief, that without cause assigned, he had dismissed the servants who had served under Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, filled the highest offices with his own creatures, and that it was his purpose to turn out such as were still left in office. Mr. Hamilton reassured them, and sent Mr. William Frederick Eden, with Shahamut Ali Khan, his own Mir Munshi to Bhopal, to prevent any disturbance. On the 15th of the month Zilhij 1261 A. H., being the occasion of the celebration of the Eede, the State officers were admitted to an audience, presented the usual offerings, and took leave after the distribution of attar and pán.

About this time Captain Trevelyan, Political Agent, was transferred from Bhopal, and Captain J. D. Cunningham from

Lahore came in his place, and in the interval before the arrival of the latter, Captain Eden acted in the appointment. My mother exercised as much authority in the State affairs as the Mian Sahib.* My grandfather, Mian Amir Muhammad Khan, at the instigation of certain foolish persons, took several hundred Rohillas into his service, and accepted their offerings of money which he spent. The Political Agent ordered the Minister to discharge these servants, and to raise a loan and pay their wages, the loan to be recouped out of the revenues of Amir Muhammad Khan's private estate. Amir Muhammad Khan refused to submit to this, and withdrawing to Kaliakheri, which is 24 miles south of Bhopal, revolted: on this Captain Cunningham marched with the contingent from Sehore and with forces from Bhopal to chastise him. On the 14th Shawal 1262 A.H., my grandfather with Sher Muhammad Khan and Akbar Muhammad Khan. his two sons and 200 Afghans, were taken prisoners, and 300 or 400 of these Afghans were shot down by the force above-mentioned. Amir Muhammad Khan and his two sons were, by the orders of the Governor-General, imprisoned for life in the Assirgarh fort. He died on the 13th of the month Jumadi-ul-akhir 1270 A. H., his corpse was brought on a bier and buried in the Nur Bagh. In this year, on the 25th of the month Ramzan, Nawab Munir Muhammad Khan died during an epidemic in Bhopal. Nawab Asad Ali Khan, chief of Basoda, who was both maternal uncle and Minister of my revered father, and also a secret adviser of my grandfather, fell under the displeasure of the English Government. He was banished for ten years to the city of Benares, at the end of which time he was released by the English Government on payment of a fine of Rs. 30,000. The upshot of the civil war in Kaliakheri was that Captain Cunningham reported to Calcutta that both Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan and the Sikandar Begam were exercising supreme and separate authority, that inconvenience and mischief resulted from

* *i. e.*, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Kahn.

*this dual Government, and that supreme authority ought* to be vested in a single person. The Government of India having found by experience that my mother not only had the best right, but was also vigilant, active, and a supporter of the English, sent from Calcutta dresses of investiture for myself as Chief, and for my mother as Regent, and on the 15th of the month Muharram 1263 A.H., the Political Agent accepted the resignation of Faujdar Muhammad Khan and presented me with the khillat of investiture mentioned above.

The first act of my mother was on the 6th of the month Safar 1263 A.H. (1847 A.D.), to invest with office of minister Raja Khushwakt Rai, who had held the same position in the Regency of the Kudsia Begam, while my mother herself worked night and day without any regard to her health. She reformed the army, the public offices, attended to the improvement and embellishment of the city, and set herself resolutely to reducing the public debt. The extension of cultivation, and the alleviation of the condition of the peasantry also occupied her time; she divided the whole country into three divisions, each under a divisional officer and his deputy, and gave these officers the title of Názims of the west, east, and south divisions, and the Amils (collectors) and Thanadars (chief constables) were put under their orders. Between the years 1264 A.H. and 1273 A.H., she made four inspections of the southern, three of the western, and three of the eastern Divisions, and looked into each sub-division with her own eyes; she instituted a chain survey, made regulations for realising the land revenue from the landowners, and eradicated all blots from both the revenue and general administration. She ascertained the boundary of each village, and caused pillars to be erected thereon, made registers of incomplete accounts and of previous year's assessments, and compiled Codes of Civil, Criminal, and Revenue Law.

After the death of Raja Khushwakt Rai, Munshi Jamál-uddin Khan, a resident of Kotanah, appertaining to the subah (division) of Delhi, a tried and prudent servant, was

given the *title of Khan and Madar-ul-Maham, and was* elevated to the honourable office and dignity of First Minister, and upon Lalla Kishen Ram, a resident of Seronj, who was considered qualified for judicial and revenue office, was conferred the appointment of second minister with the title of Raja, and dignity of Motimid-ul-Maham (chargé d' affaires). On the 11th of the month of Zikat 1271 A.H., my marriage with Bakshi Baki Muhammad Khan, "Nasrat Jang" (victorious in war), son of Bakshi Bahadur Muhammad Khan, was celebrated according to the Muhammadan rite, and the title of Nawab Nazir-ud-Daula, Omrao Dula Bahadur was conferred upon my husband. Rs. 19,76,723-9-3 was the public debt incurred during my late father's reign, and Rs. 3,85,117-8, additional during the Regency of Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan. The total debt amounting to Rs. 23,61,841-1-3 was paid off, and the State freed from incumbrances.

In the year 1273 A.H., when the military forces of the English mutinied and the sepoy war took place, in return for assistance rendered to the English Government, the order of the Star of India, and an addition of territory were bestowed by the Queen of England upon my mother, who went to Jubbulpore, Allahabad, and the city of Agra, in which places she exchanged visits with the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and was the object of praise and eulogy. She also visited several fine cities, and built several handsome edifices. She went to Holy Mecca and earned the reward of that pilgrimage. She was of pleasing address, clear voice, middle stature, slight figure, business-habits, a shrewd physiognomist, good accountant, and well versed in Persian; she belonged to the Hanífa persuasion. She was born on the 28th of the month Shawal 1233 A.H.; married on the 18th Zilhij 1250; appointed Regent on the 15th of the month Muharram 1263 A.H., and on the 9th Shawal 1276 A.H., with my consent and the sanction of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was recognised as the Chief of Bhopal in her own right. On the 16th of

the month Rajab 1285 A.H., she departed from this transitory to an eternal kingdom, and is now spoken of as "the sainted," by which name she will be henceforward known in these pages.

## CHAPTER II.

### ABOUT THE AUTHOR'S MARRIAGE.

WHEN I was of full age, my sainted mother considered with careful eyes all the youths of our clan belonging to the ruling family in Bhopal, and made a mental selection of some upon whose education she bestowed much pains, but finding none free from objection on the score of personal or other defects, she asked through Major Durand, Political Agent, permission from the Viceroy or Governor-General to look out for a worthy son-in-law from some other noble family. This course was necessary because a former communication from the supreme power had stated that the selection was to be made with the joint consent of herself, the nobles of Bhopal, and the British Government, who now, however, agreed to the proposed alteration. My sainted mother sent wise and experienced officers to the principal cities of India to make enquiries and these emissaries forwarded from Delhi and other cities portraits and pedigrees, and accounts of the apparent rank and importance of several renowned and illustrious persons. Several princes of the house of Timour, hearing of the circumstance, came in great state to Bhopal, were hospitably entertained for some days and then departed.

At last a selection of the six most eligible persons was made, and their qualifications communicated to Captain Eden, the Political Agent, who was informed that there was no young man of the Bhopal family who combined all the qualities requisite for an aspirant to the hand of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, and that a marriage with strange families would be liable to turn out in a way which could not be foreseen, wherefore it was inexpedient that the Nawab Shahjahan's husband should be invested

with the supreme power, which should be in the Shahjahan Begam's own hands, and that her husband should have no voice in the State affairs, but merely the empty title and dignity of Nawab, but that any issue there might be of the marriage should succeed to the real power and title of Nawab in his own right. The Political Agent replied that the terms of Her Highness's letter were in accordance with English customs, when Her Gracious Majesty was Sovereign, and her Consort had no voice in matters of State, and that the Begam's proposals should be forwarded through the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India to the Supreme Government, whose orders in the matter would be awaited. Accordingly, Her Highness's letter which was to the address of Robert Hamilton, Esq., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, was translated and duly forwarded by post, a reply from the Agent was received, bearing date the 7th November 1854, in which the receipt of Her Highness's letter was suitably acknowledged, and she was informed that the reply had awaited the Governor-General's pleasure, which was that the selection of a suitable husband for the Nawab Shahjahan Begam was left in her hands, and that he should be only a Nawab in title, while the real power should devolve on the Nawab Shahjahan Begam on her attaining her majority according to general custom. The excellence of Her Highness's rule was extolled, especially for clearing the State of the heavy burden of debt, that her exercise of power afforded such a striking example that it ought to continue as a maternal lesson to the Nawab Shahjahan Begam until the proper time should arrive for entrusting the latter with the direction of affairs. The Sikandar Begam replied that she had already, on the 1st of the month Safar 1271 A.H., corresponding with the 24th October 1854 A.D., communicated to the Political Agent as her selection, the name of Bakshi Baki Muhammad Khan "Nasrat Jang," the Commander-in-Chief in the State, and nothing remained, but to issue the invitations to the wedding, which should be formally sent to the

Governor-General, the Agent to the Governor-General, and Captain Eden. As to that portion of the letter under reply, which stated that the exercise of the supreme authority in the State should be entrusted to the Nawab Shahjahan Begam in due course, who would be guided by her (the Sikandar Begam's), advice and counsel, mere advice and counsel were quite inadequate to a proper conduct of public affairs, which depended upon prompt obedience to a single will, and her wishes in the matter were not so difficult to carry out that the Paramount Power should hesitate, and that if this could not be done during Mr. Hamilton's tenure of office, she despaired of its being done at any other time. She wrote a second time to inform him that the time had now come for carrying out the suggestions of the Governor-General in his letter of the 11th of April 1854, regarding the marriage of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, and that in her opinion Bakshi Baki Muhammad Khan Nasrat Jang was a suitable match, as he was of good abilities, of noble family, long resident in Bhopal, and one of the principal officers of State. In reply the Agent to the Governor-General wrote to declare the wishes of the Governor-General to the effect that the regency of the Sikandar Begam should be prolonged until the Nawab Shahjahan Begam attained the age of 21 years, and if at that time the latter were to apply to be put in possession of the reins of Government, it would be difficult not to accede to her wishes. To this my respected mother replied, that no one had such a rightful claim to the throne as herself, that her endeavours to improve the administration of the State had earned the approval of the Government of India and British officers, and therefore she might fairly expect to be recognised as Regent for life. At last, on the 4th of July 1855, the Political Agent came to Bhopal and brought a kharíta from His Excellency the Governor-General with him acknowledging receipt of her letter, announcing the selection of Bakshi Baki Muhammad Khan as husband of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, and approving of all the reasons which she had given for her choice.

After the receipt of this sanction on the 28th Shawál 1271, the ceremony of tasting salt (nimak chashí) was performed. On the 2nd of Zikát, a proclamation of the Political Agent's was published in Bhopal, proclaiming the Shahjahan Begam to be Ruler, and her mother Regent, and her husband Nawab by courtesy only. On the 4th of Zikát, the ceremony of betrothal took place, and the title of Nawab Nazir-ud-Daula Amrau Dula Bahadoor was conferred on Baki Muhammad Khan, with the sanction of the British Government. On the 5th of the same month the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, on behalf of the Governor-General, invested the Nawab with a khilat on the occasion of the marriage of the Chief. The khilat was received with a salute of 21 guns. The British Government fixed the salute which the Nawab was entitled to receive at public ceremonies at 17 guns.

On the 11th of the same month the ceremony of marriage was performed by Mulavi Abdul Kayum, the son of Abdul Hai, deceased. The sum settled on me was two crores of rupees, not a particle of which was ever paid, and Rs. 500 per mensem was agreed upon for my maintenance, but this was never given, nor were any of the proceeds of the Nawab's estate ever paid either to me or to his daughter, the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, but the whole estate passed to the Nawab's sons. With the consent of the Agent to the Governor-General, the Nawab received a jaghir for life, *viz.* from 1263 Fasli or 1272 A.H., of 95 villages, the net revenues of which were Rs. 65,000 per annum.

On this auspicious occasion Rs. 7,71,362-7-3 were spent in the following manner :—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The trousseau ... | ... Rs. | 3,90,617 | 9 | 3 |
| The Nawab's outfit | ... „ | 2,66,469 | 7 | 9 |
| The wedding expenses | ... „ | 1,14,275 | 6 | 3 |

My own jaghir consisting of Rs. 57,866-14-6 remained unchanged, nor was any other jaghir conferred on me by the State at the time of my marriage.

## CHAPTER III.

### RELATING THE ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE MUTINY, AND THE ELEVATION OF MY SAINTED MOTHER TO THE THRONE, AND MY RECOGNITION AS HEIR APPARENT.

IN the year 1273 A.H., new cartouches from the London arsenal were received in Hindustan, and distributed among the cantonments. Hindus and Muhammadans alike, seeing that the cartouches were greasy, were equally suspicious that the grease was made from animal fat, contact with the flesh and fat of cows being forbidden by the Hindu religion, while contact with the flesh and fat of pigs and other unclean animals is abhorrent to the Mussulman faith. The orders were that the paper covers of the cartouches should be bitten off with the teeth, and the contents poured into the barrels of the muskets at drill, an order which the sepoys could not obey. While the matter was still being debated, in the month of Ramzan of this year, the Meerut garrison took the lead in refusing to take the cartouches. The native officers were put under arrest as a warning to the men, and on the 16th of the same month both the cavalry and infantry soldiers openly mutinied against their English officers, whom, with their wives and children, they killed, set fire to the houses, and went away to Delhi, the troops of which place also mutinied and set upon the throne the Emperor of Delhi, Bahadur Shah, who was 90 years of age, and resided in the fort of Shahjahanabad on a pension of a lac of rupees a month, which he received from the English Government.

The English officers had divided Hindustan into four provinces, Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the Punjáb. In a few days the mutiny had spread over the whole of Bengal; seventy regiments of infantry and several of cavalry killed their officers, plundered the treasuries and arsenals, ruined the peasantry and collected in Delhi, where they offered an armed resistance. This war has obtained the name of "The Mutiny." Its history has been fully written by Europeans and by natives of ability, in both Persian and

English, and it is out of place to write its history in this book; it is sufficient to refer to the Tarikh Maharaba Azúm, which was printed in Lahore and again in Lucknow as containing a full account of the bloodshed and misery of those days. The Maharajas of Gwalior and Indore who keep up large armies, and whose territories are very large, held aloof from rendering assistance to the English, deterred by fear of the mutineers and the disaffection of their own soldiery, and even in Gwalior's own cantonments of Morar and in the Indore Residency many excesses were committed, but my revered mother showed great sagacity in these troublous times, kept her city and soldiery under her control, and rendered all the assistance in her power to the English, sending supplies of grain and other forage as far even as Kalpí for the use of the European troops; she also sent bodies of her own troops to protect some of the towns and districts of Saugor and Bundelcund. The servants of the Bhopal State maintained to the utmost extent a hearty and active obedience to the English Government, and earned praise and approbation for the good service they performed, while any man who showed disaffection met with prompt punishment.

When Fázil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan, jaghirdars of Ambapani, mutinied, my sainted mother confiscated their estates. Fázil Muhammad Khan shut himself up in the fort of Rahatgarh, refused admission to the English troops whom he resisted by force; he was captured alive and executed (suli=impaled), while Adil Muhammad Khan so entirely disappeared that he has never been since heard of. The men of the contingent (Bhopal) at Sehore mutinied; my respected mother appointed an adequate force for their chastisement and with great skill managed to wrest the cantonment of Sehore from the mutineers, who were captured by the European force and executed. All those who had been seduced by Sarfuráz Khan of Rahatgarh, and had left Bhopal to follow his fortunes, and had murdered the officer in charge of Bairesia

at that time a British district, so entirely disappeared that they never saw Bhopal again.

When the mutiny was over, European officers were well pleased with my respected mother; on the 11th December 1858 A.D., corresponding with the 7th Jawadi-ul-Awali 1275 Mr. Hamilton, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, addressed a kharita (letter) to her to this effect:—"Be pleased to instil into the minds of your relations, this fact, that a sure foundation for the State is to be found in its dependence on a single resolute authority; the separate authority of your uncle Nawab Moiz Muhammad Khan had nearly plunged the State into discord and rebellion."

"You must not pay any regard to the pain which may be given to your relations in affairs which nearly concern the State, and these remarks especially apply to the affairs of your respected mother, the Kudsia Begam, the management of her estate ought to be given to such a person that no stain should attach to her good name."

Notwithstanding the receipt of such a document my sainted mother did not consider it just to cause her pain, out of respect for her old age, but contented herself with withdrawing from her jurisdiction the conduct of trials of heinous crime. My sainted mother, finding the Government of India well disposed to her at this time, strongly pressed her claims to be acknowledged as Regent for life, a subject which had been first mooted at the time of my marriage, and on the 25th Shaban 1275, corresponding to the 31st March 1859 A.D., she wrote to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India and to the Governor-General, the Right Hon'ble Charles John Viscount Canning, Viceroy, as follows: From the day that the country of Hindustan has been restored to the possession of Her Gracious Majesty, I have been watching for an opportunity to lay before her my petition, in order that such of my grievances as are still unredressed, may by her regard to justice be removed. Your Honour is well aware that in

former times it has been the custom of this State that on the death of the Chief his son should be appointed in his stead, and in accordance with this custom, I, on the death of my father, was made Ruler. This was in accordance with the treaty. When I grew up and came to years of discretion, and could discern between good and evil, the Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, because of his being my husband, was made Ruler of this State, which was my inheritance. This was done in contravention of the treaty, for supposing my father had survived to this day and then died, leaving me and my husband and our daughter, to which of the three would the Chieftaincy have been given? if to me, then the engagement in the treaty would have been performed; but if to my husband, then such a succession would have been contrary to the treaty. The third case may be thus stated, that if, after the death of a Ruler, his daughter should be appointed Ruler as long as her minority lasted; but when she became of age, intelligent and discreet, the conduct of State affairs should be entrusted to whoever chanced to become her husband; supposing this to have been the rule of succession, and supposing my father survived till I and my husband were of full age and discretion, even in this case I ought at once to have succeeded as Chief; and should the reins of power have been given to my husband on account of my being his wife, such a decision would not meet with the approbation of honourable and just men. It was to prevent this from happening that my petition was presented to the Supreme Government through the intervention of yourself and the Political Agent in Bhopal, praying that the State should not be made over to any son-in-law of mine, who had no right whatsoever to it, and this petition, which was in accordance with the treaty, was acceded to by the Supreme Government. Thanks be to God that from the same quarter, whence this injury came, its removal was effected. Now, again, there is a likelihood of a similar defect of the kind, therefore I have been compelled to show what my

rights are, in the firm hope that in like manner, as the Honourable East India Company, after consideration of my petition, redressed the contemplated injury of entrusting the State to my son-in-law, so, now, my second grievance may be removed by the Crown. Your Honour, who is so well acquainted with the affairs, circumstances, and rights of this State, is about to proceed to Europe, so be pleased to forward my letter to His Excellency the Governor-General, that the foundations of this State, which, by the help of God and your countenance, are firmly established, may be preserved from being ruined or undermined.

The following are the contents of the letter addressed at the same time to the Governor-General:—A thousand thanks to that God who loosed the country of Hindustan from the grasp of the lawless, and brought it within the authority of the British Government, and doomed to punishment and destruction those evil-disposed persons who raised up discord and strife. Her Majesty Queen Victoria has withdrawn Hindustan from the Honourable East India Company, and brought it within her special jurisdiction, and given to great and small the glad tidings of justice and redress, in order that if any one be suffering wrong at the time of the transfer of the aforesaid country, he may have the opportunity of appealing to her Royal Court, where his rights will be meted out to him; wherefore I also have taken occasion to set forth my claims; and if I can show binding agreements and documents in support of my rights, I shall not remain a disappointed suitor. These claims are wholly for the strengthening of the foundations of the Bhopal State, that they remain unshaken, and for securing the fulfilment of the treaty between the two States assented to by Her Gracious Majesty in her proclamation. The particulars of my claim are as follows:—That at the time of the transfer (of India) to the Crown, I found two infringements in the executed treaty with this State; one that the husband of the Chief was being made Ruler of the State, the other that after the death of my father which occurred when I was fifteen

months old, I was indeed made Ruler of the State according to the treaty, but that when I became fit to govern the State and to have my powers put to the test, then the control of the affairs of the State, which was my inalienable inheritance for life, without any trial and contrary to the faith of the contracting parties, and contrary also to the letter of the treaty was given to my husband, and after his death was not even restored to me, but notwithstanding its being mine, was given away to my daughter, a child of seven years old; and this kharita was sent to me. "That the British Government agree to sanction the raising to the throne of the Shahjahan Begam, the daughter of the late Nawab and yourself, in the same manner as your title was sanctioned after the demise of Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan, with the consent of the nobles of the State, and the approval of the British Government; and afterwards, on the occasion of her marriage, arrangements for the conduct of affairs will be made agreeably to the wishes of yourself, the chiefs of Bhopal, and of the British Government, and her husband will be considered the Ruler." On fully comprehending the purport of this document, immediately on my accession to power, and previous to the marriage of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, I preferred a request to this effect:—That the chief power of the State should not be conferred on any youth selected to be my daughter's husband, and this prayer which was in accordance with the treaty, was granted by the Supreme Government, and this infringement of my rights by consigning the inheritance of the Chief to a son-in-law was removed. Now there has been a recurrence of a similar state of circumstances. Her Majesty's Court is not bound for the purpose of giving effect to the terms of the treaty to consult the nobles, nor to defer to the opinions of persons who may or may not be connected with the ruling family; the chief power in the State cannot be inherited by the children of the Chief, while the Chief himself is still alive. If the words heirs and successors, which repeatedly occur

in the treaty, are to be allowed their full weight in Her Majesty's Court, then that order which declared me to be the Chief on the death of my father, according to the stipulation of the treaty ought to be upheld for my lifetime. If this is done, the perfection to which the administration has been brought by my pains and energy will not be impaired. My services during the recent mutiny are well known to Major Rickardes, Political Agent of Bhopal, and to Colonel H. M. Durand, Acting Agent for the Governor-General, and to Sir R. Hamilton, Bart., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. On the 6th Jamadi-ul-akhir 1276 A.H., corresponding with 31st December 1859 A.D., His Excellency the Governor-General replied that "Sir Richmond Shakespeare, Knight, my Agent for Central India, has communicated to me the purport of his conversation with you, and the Nawab Shahjahan Begam on the subject of the chief power in the State, wherein the Shahjahan Begam, who is the rightful Ruler of the State by inheritance, and whose children will succeed her, has expressed her assent to this arrangement that the title of Chief and the executive power should remain with you, therefore I have sanctioned your request, and have instructed my Agent to place you on the throne, and to publish a proclamation to the effect that the Government of India has sanctioned the establishment of the authority of the Nawab Sikandar Begam in Bhopal.

The English Government is always faithful in the execution of its treaties and engagements, and because I had been appointed Ruler by them, therefore Captain Hutchinson, the Political Agent at Sehore, had elicited my real wishes, wherein I deferred to the wishes of my august mother, and that gentleman reported accordingly to Sir Richmond Shakespeare, the Governor-General's Agent for Central India, who wrote to me in the following terms:—"Captain Hutchinson has informed me of the decision which Your Highness has come to, with so much wisdom and clearness, most assuredly your reply has brought a most important

case to a most satisfactory conclusion. The Nawab Sikandar Begam will exercise the chief authority in Bhopal for life. The British Government is most grateful for the services performed by her during the late disturbances, and will never fail in affording her support." When this matter was determined, the Resident (Agent to Governor-General at Indore) wrote to my sainted mother as follows:—" In 1855 A.D., on the occasion of the marriage of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, Captain Eden published a proclamation to all subjects of the Bhopal State to the effect that the British Government had appointed the Nawab Shahjahan Begam to be Ruler, and her mother to be Regent during her minority, and whereas her minority has terminated on the 20th July of this year, and the Nawab Shahjahan Begam has signified to Captain Hutchinson her wishes that the supreme authority may continue to be vested in her mother, therefore His Excellency the Governor-General has sanctioned the arrangement, and given me instructions to invest you with the insignia of the Chief power, and in order that due notification of this should be made to all your subjects and nobles, a copy of a proclamation is forwarded herewith for Your Highness to promulgate throughout the State of Bhopal, and on the date fixed by Your Highness for the ceremony, I shall myself proceed to Bhopal and seat Your Highness on the masnad with all the time-honoured observances of the ceremony." The services which Your Highness performed in the mutiny can never be forgotten by the British Government. The 9th Shawál 1276 A.H. was appointed for the ceremony. The Agent to the Governor-General came from Indore, and the Political Agent from Sehore, and enthroned my mother on the State masnad, and conferred the title of Heir-apparent on me, and presented my august mother with the following khilat:—A pearl necklace, jewelled bracelets, shawl, Burhanpur shawls, brocade, muslins, a silver inkstand, a sword and shield, four cannons of English manufacture, two horses with trappings, one elephant with silver howdah, and gold

embroidered housings, and in return my mother presented the Agent to the Governor-General with 227 gold mohurs as a nazar to the Governor-General.

## CHAPTER IV.

### RELATING THE VISIT TO JABALPUR AND THE ACQUISITION OF THE PARGANA OF BAIRESIA FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

In the month of Jumadi-ul-awal 1277 A.H., information was received from Major McMullin, Political Agent for Bhopal, of the Governor-General's intention to visit Jabalpur, where there would be a reception of the chiefs of this neighbourhood. Preparations for the journey were made by my sainted mother, and on the 29th of the same month and year, Bakshi Maramut Muhammad Khan, Commander-in-Chief, was despatched with the forces towards Jabalpur. My mother herself taking with her me and the Nawab Amrau Dula, the Nawab Kudsia Begam, and the Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, the First Minister, Jumaluddin Khan, other dignitaries of the State, and the horse-guards, marched on Saturday, the 1st Jumadi-ul-akhir 1277 A.H., and after accomplishing the stages, reached Jabalpur on Tuesday, the 25th of Jumadi-ul-akhir, corresponding with the 7th of January 1861 A.D. On the following day the Governor-General's camp arrived.

The reception was held at 11 o'clock on Tuesday, the 15th January 1861, all the nobles of Bhopal in their best attire, mounted on elephants, proceeded towards the Governor-General's tent; when near the appointed place, the cavalry and infantry halted, and the elephants waited at the edge of the encampment. The Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, then came forward on elephants to the edge of the Governor-General's camp to meet them. In front of the durbar-tent was pitched a shamiana, arrived before which the Secretary took the hand of my sainted mother in his,

and the Agent to the Governor-General took the Kudsia Begam's hand and assisted them down from their howdahs, while the Political Agent of Bhopal approached the elephants ridden by Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan and Nawab Amrau Dulah and the others, who all dismounted from their elephants. When we entered the shamiana, arms were presented to the party by a guard of honour of British soldiers, and then we all passed on to the durbar tent and took the chairs labelled with our names, as the Secretary pointed them out to us. Afterwards the other chiefs, whose reception had been appointed for that day, took their seats without any confusion or talking; and when all had assembled, the Governor-General, accompanied by four aides-de-camp, made his appearance, the company of British soldiers presented arms, and all rose from their chairs as a mark of respect. Then the Governor-General took his seat, and the four aides-de-camp sat on his right, while on his left were all the Hindustani chiefs. A salute was fired in honour of the Governor-General, who then arose and made a speech in English, which was then translated and delivered in Urdu by the Secretary for the benefit of all present at the durbar:—" Sikandar Begam,—Your Highness is very welcome to this durbar. I have long desired to thank you for the services which you have rendered to the Queen's Government. Your Highness is the Ruler of a State which is conspicuous in history for never having been in arms against the British power: and lately, when that State was beset and threatened by our enemies, you, a woman, guided its affairs with a courage, an ability, and a success that would have done honour to any statesman or soldier.

" Besides the great services of repressing revolt around you and of securing the safety of all Englishmen, amongst whom was the Agent of the Governor-General, you never failed to aid and expedite to the utmost of your power all bodies of British troops that came within your reach.

" Such services must not go unrewarded.

"I now place in your hands the grant in sovereignty of the district of Bairesia. This district was formerly a dependency of the State of Dhar; but Dhar has by rebellion forfeited all claim to it; and now it is given in perpetuity to Bhopal for a memorial of loyalty under your wise and brave guidance in a time of trial.

"It is a pleasure to me to deliver this grant to Your Highness in person, in the presence of the Queen's officers here assembled, of the native gentlemen of Jabalpur and Sagar, and of your own court."

Translation of a sanad granting Pargana Bairesia to the State of Bhopal on 27th December 1860:—

"Whereas, during the rebellion, the Nawab Sikandar Begam, Ruler of Bhopal, rendered from loyalty good service to the British Government, and maintained order and peace in the territory of Bhopal: the Government, being highly satisfied therewith, has been pleased to grant in sovereignty Pargana Bairesia to the Bhopal State from generation to generation. All the conditions which at present exist in respect to Bhopal shall apply to the pargana now conferred upon that State."

When this speech was finished, the Governor-General resumed his seat, and my revered mother rose from her chair and said:—"I return thanks to that God who made my heart stronger in obedience to Your Excellency than even my father's; and, secondly, I return my thanks to Your Excellency for appointing me Ruler in succession to my father. Obedience to Your Excellency, I consider an honour, and as long as I live I will never be turned aside from respecting your authority, and I have full confidence in my daughter's continuing the same line of conduct."

The Foreign Secretary interpreted the speech in English to His Lordship, who, with his own hands, bestowed a khilat on my mother, and gave her attar and pán. He then bestowed on Munshí Bhawaní Pershad, the vakil of the Bhopal State, a watch and a khilat in reward for his loyalty during the mutiny, and a life pension of Rs. 100 a

month was awarded him by the British Government, afterwards some gentlemen of Sagar and Jabalpúr received khilats, and the durbar broke up.

My revered mother, after the durbar was over, paid a visit to the Viceroy's lady and sat upon the same sofa. The lady conversed with her with great courtesy and kindness' and presented her with a book and a pair of flower vases.

On the following day, the 4th Rajab of the same year, at 11 o'clock, His Lordship, accompanied by thirteen gentlemen, visited me at my tent. My court consisted of 108 persons, relatives and officers. First of all Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan and Nawab Amrau Dúla, with Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, and the First Minister proceeded to the Governor-General's camp to conduct him to our tents (when the visit was over, they accompanied him half way back), and my revered mother advanced to the carriage to hand him out. The gentlemen of my court placed their hands upon their breasts and bowed, while a salute of 21 guns was fired. Then twenty-one trays were placed before him, and my mother entreated him to accept this slight offering, saying that she never, as long as she lived, would forget the praises bestowed on her by His Lordship in open durbar on the previous day; that the dignity of herself and the State had been increased beyond all precedent; that she fully appreciated His Lordship's favours, and would teach her daughter also to recognize the full extent of the honour done her.

After this speech was over, the trays of offerings were presented, and my mother gave with her own hands a tiara of pearls. Then the trays presented by the Kudsia Begam were brought, and she gave a pearl necklace with her own hands, after which His Lordship took his leave, and a salute of 21 guns was fired.

On the following day Her Ladyship paid her visit, and arrangements for her reception were on the same scale as for that of the Governor-General. Her Ladyship was pleased to express the pleasure she felt at meeting my

mother, who replied that she considered Her Ladyship as her sovereign, whose visit conferred on her distinction and honour. Her Ladyship then entered the room where I was sitting and paid me a visit, and afterwards returned to the public assemblage and shortly took leave.

Our troops broke up their camp and started for Bhopal in advance of us, and on the 9th Rajab 1277 A.H. corresponding with the 21st of January 1861 A.D., the day being Monday, we commenced our return journey to Bhopal, which we reached on the 2nd Shában of the same year, corresponding with the 13th February 1861 A.D. In this journey our expenses on account of nazars to the Governor-General amounted to the sum of Rs. 32,186-2, and on account of actual travelling expenses Rs. 23,302-5-9, in all Rs. 55,488-7-9.

## CHAPTER V.

### CONTAINING THE JOURNEY TO ALLAHABAD, THE INVESTITURE OF THE STAR OF INDIA, AND A TOUR OF SOME CITIES.

In the month of Rabi-ul-awal 1278 A.H., a communication was received from the Political Agent of Bhopal that His Excellency the Governor-General intended to visit Allahabad, to invest His Highness the Maharaja Jíaji Rao Scindia, the Begam of Bhopal, the Raja of Patiala, and the Nawab of Rampúr, with the order of the Star of India, conferred by the commands of Her Majesty the Queen.

Whereupon, preparations for the journey were made, and on the 1st of October 1861, corresponding with the 25th of Rabi-ul-awal of that year, my mother, accompanied by myself, the Kudsia Begam, Nawab Nazir-ud-daula, Baki Muhammad Khan, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, the First Minister, and the chief dignitaries of the State, with cavalry, infantry, and office establishment, in all 2,241 persons set out for Allahabad. On the 2nd Rabi-ul-akhir Sagar was reached, and Rewa on the 16th. His Highness the Maharaja came out to meet us, and courteously visited

us. Nothing could exceed the hospitality with which he treated us. We left again on the 18th, and on Tuesday, the 24th of Rabi-ul-akhir, entered Allahabad.

His Lordship the Governor-General early on the same day gave himself the trouble of visiting my mother at her tent, and she was much gratified at his condescension. In the afternoon she, the Kudsia Begam, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, and the first Minister, went to visit His Lordship and returned much gratified. A salute of 19 guns was fired both on their arrival and departure. On the 25th Rabi-ul-akhir in the afternoon, His Lordship kindly returned the visit, accompanied by the Foreign Secretary, Colonel Durand, and two other gentlemen.

On the 26th Rabi-ul-akhir the Sikandar Begam visited the fort of Allahabad and the magazine. This celebrated fort was built by Akbar Jalaluddín, the Emperor of Delhi, at the point of junction of the Ganges and Jumna, and is called Prag by the Hindus.

On Friday, the 1st of November 1861 A.D., corresponding with the 28th Rabi-ul-akhir 1278 A.H., the Sikandar Begam went to the Viceregal tent, and was honoured by receiving the Star of India. This durbar was so arranged that the four persons alluded to before, with the English Civil and Military officers and others who had received invitations to be present, arrived at the durbar tent by 10 A.M., and occupied the places set apart for them. The English *officers on the left side of the viceregal throne, and* the Hindustani chiefs with their Political Agents occupied chairs on the right. Near the tent a regiment of European cavalry and a regiment of native cavalry were drawn up in line on both sides of the road. A company of infantry was drawn up at the entrance of the Fort. Salutes of 19 guns were fired in honour of the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Nawab Sikandar Begam, and 17 guns for the Maharaja of Patiala, and 13 for the Nawab of Rampúr.

At 11 o'clock His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, accompanied by the Secretary to Government, the

Under-Secretary, and his aides-de-camp, made his entry into the Durbar. A royal salute of 21 guns was fired by the Royal Artillery. Then His Lordship took his seat upon the throne, and the Secretary read aloud in English and Urdu the proclamation of the 5th of July 1861 in which Her Majesty the Queen had founded the Order of the Star of India. Then His Excellency Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief, led up to the throne the Maharaja of Gwalior, the chiefs of Bhopal, Patiala, and Rampúr in the above order. The Under-Secretary and another Secretary stood holding the Star of India in front, and the Foreign Secretary stood on the right. The Governor-General stood up and addressed the four Chiefs in turn in the above order in English:—" Her Majesty the Queen has conferred the title of Knight upon you. By Her Majesty's orders, I give you this Most Honourable Star." Then he placed the collar of the Order on their necks and gave the Star into their hands, the Secretary interpreted his words into Hindustani, and then the Commander-in-Chief led each according to his degree back to his seat. Then the Governor-General again rose and congratulated each of the Chiefs on the receipt of the Star of India, and said:—" I have executed the commands of the Queen in investing Your Highnesses with the insignia of the Star of India. I now desire to congratulate you upon your admission into the brotherhood of that Most Exalted Order; an Order declared by Her Majesty to be instituted as a public and signal testimony of her regard for the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India as a commemoration of her resolution to take upon herself the government of the British territories in India, which resolution was, three years ago, on the anniversary of this day, proclaimed to all India from this spot; and as a means by which, according to the usage of sovereigns, Her Majesty may be enabled to reward conspicuous merit. It was the gracious wish of the Queen that, in the execution of Her gracious commands, nothing should be omitted which might serve to testify Her Majesty's consideration for

Your Highnesses, who have, by your loyalty, constancy, and good services, merited this mark of Her Royal favour, or which might tend to show respect to Her Majesty's most Exalted Order. I am satisfied that on your parts nothing will be wanting to uphold the high dignity of that Order, and that enjoying the peculiar honour of being amongst the first selected members of it, you will continue to set before your fellow-countrymen a prominent example of cordial attachment and sympathy between the feudatory princes of India and the Crown of England.'

This speech was then interpreted to the assembly by the Secretary, after which His Excellency the Governor-General walked up to each of the Chiefs in turn according to their rank, and after shaking hands with them, withdrew to his own tent; whereupon the durbar came to an end, and a royal salute was fired.

On the same evening, that of the 28th of the above month, we again went by invitation to the tents of His Excellency and witnessed a display of fireworks, in which flowers and leaves were represented like rubies, emeralds, sapphires, and diamonds. On the 2nd of November 1861, Lord Canning started for the eastern portion of the empire, and the newly appointed knights left for their respective territories.

The Star of India consists of three pieces: the first, a gold sunlike star studded with diamonds, in which is the inscription in English letters: "Heaven's light our guide." The second piece consists of a portrait of the Queen carved upon pink cameo, and attached to a riband. The third piece consists of a gold enamelled necklace, surmounted by the royal diadem, very rarely, delicately, and beautifully executed, and these three pieces, according to a previous arrangement, were, after the death of my revered mother, on the 3rd of November 1868 A.D., corresponding with the 17th Rajab 1285 A.H., sent to the office of the Political Agency at Sehore.

After the Star of India had been conferred upon my revered mother, she asked the opinions of learned men

regarding the portrait being that of a living being. The Kazi of the State, Sheikh Zain-ul-abdin Arab, replied that the use of gold and silver ornaments by women was lawful, but that the use of portraits of kings and others in jewellery was a distraction at prayer time. In the "Durra Mukhtar" it is written that the carving of the likeness of winged things and of men on seals is wrong, but for women to wear the likenesses of living creatures is not blasphemy as long as they are worn without the intention of their being worshipped and praised like idols.

In the Bahar Ra-ik and the Fatawai-Ibrahim Shahi, it is written that if a man, who is at prayers, has a coin bearing a royal effigy, which cannot be distinguished at a distance, there is no harm in it. And in the Fatawaí-Tatar Khani and Tahatawi, it is written that the seal of Abi Harerah (on whom be peace) bore an engraving of two flies, also that in the reign of King Omar Bori-ul Khatáb, the seal of the prophet Daniel was found, on which was engraved a lion and lioness fawning upon a boy standing between them and on seeing this, King Omar wept and gave the seal to Abi-Músa-ul-Asharí. Ibn Abbas had a ring, round which were small portraits. From which instances it appears that the use of jewels, rings, &c., bearing effigies, is not altogether sacrilegious and blasphemous, but because of their association with blasphemous idols, they are inexpedient, and it behoves Mussulmans to abstain as far as possible from such distracting things for fear of their falling into errors forbidden by the law, and the opinion of Mulayi Abdul Kyum and other learned men was to the same effect.

Before the durbar was held, the Governor-General had given permission to my revered mother, according to her request, to visit the famous cities of Hindustan, and had written to the Civil officers of these cities to inform them of the intended visit of the Nawab Begam of Bhopal, who was to be received with the honour due to her rank. Accordingly on the 1st of Jumadi-ul-awal 1287 A.H., she set out

from Allahabad, and reached Benares on the 8th of the month. Visits were interchanged with Raja Isrí Parsad Narain Singh, Chief of Ramnagar, better known as the Raja of Benares, with whose kindness and courtesy the Begam was much pleased.

The city of Benares is very populous and very sacred in the eyes of the Hindus, but the climate is not good; the Hindus think it pious to throw their dead into the river Ganges, and the bodies decompose in the water, also all the sewage of the city is carried by drains into the river, so the natural purity of the water is destroyed, and a malarious fever generated.

We left Benares on the 14th of the above month, and arrived at the city of Jaunpúr on the 17th. Here there is a very large and massive bridge over the river built by one Fáhim, a slave of Beyram Khan, Khan of Khans. The words sanát* mastaquim (the enduring bridge) give the date of the work. Departing thence Faizabad in Oudh was reached on the 26th of the month. This city is situated on the banks of the river Sarju, now called the Gagra, the water of which is very good and full of fish; it is also very deep and wide. The city is of moderate size, and is held in great reverence by the Hindus. The camp marched hence for Lucknow, and on the way recited the prayers for the dead at Durriabad at the tomb of Syud Amir Ali, martyr, and there learnt the true story of his martyrdom as follows:—

From very ancient times Oudh was the capital of the princes of the line of Sri Ramchandar, the founder of Hinduism. In 913 A.H., Syud Músa Ashkan, under orders from Zahiruddin Babar, emperor, levelled the ruined walls of the Raja's palace, and the kitchen of his wife Sita, and built a mosque on the site. The words khair baki (an everlasting good work), convey the date of the mosque. There

* Sanát is the bridge over which good and evil have to try to pass at the day of judgment, but over which only the good can succeed in passing.

was also in this city a temple of Hanúman, the friend of Ramchandar, which Mohiuddin Aurungzeb Alamgir, Emperor, destroyed, and built a mosque there. These two mosques were in places dilapidated and ruinous owing to their age. Raja Durshan Singh, a powerful landowner in Oudh, walled in the mosque of Babar's time and named the place Hanúman Garhi, and filled it with Bairágis,* who, by degrees, effaced all traces of the mosque and built a temple there. The poor helpless Muhammadans combined together, but the Bairágis secured the friendship of the governor of Faizabad and attacked the Muhammadans and killed them; and the Hindu ringleaders, known as mohunts, obtained the favour of Nawab Ali Naki Khan, Wazir of the King of Lucknow Wajid Ali Shah, and his Dewan Raja Balkrishen, who shut their eyes and screened the Hindus from punishment. Syud Amír Ali was bent on vengeance, and was joined by a large number of Muhammadans. A panic then fell upon the city of Lucknow, and at the suggestion of the Wazir, the influential men of the city induced many to desert from Syud Amír Ali, who departed for Faizabad with 450 followers, and Captain Barlow, in the service of the King of Oudh, was sent after him by the Wazir at the head of a large force. On the 26th Safar (Wednesday) 1272 A.H., in the plains of Shujai, where a bloody battle between Salar Masúd Ghazi and Hindus had once before taken place, Captain Barlow attacked Syud Amir Ali, who together with his followers was slain. Three months afterwards, on the 26th Jumadi-ul-awal of the same year, the Supreme Government deposed the King of Oudh for his sloth and negligence, annexed his dominions, and assigned him an annual pension. On the 6th of Jumadi-ul-akhir we reached Lucknow all well, and encamped at the Badshah Bagh. The English officers met us and brought us in, and the salute and all the customary honours were

Bairágis, Hindu religious mendicants.

duly paid us. Notwithstanding that nearly half the city had been destroyed by the English after the mutiny as a punishment for rebellion, and large buildings had been pulled down, even in this decayed state, what is left is a very large city, the buildings are fine, and the markets good, and provisions and merchandise of all countries procurable in abundance.

The following is a short account of the royal buildings which we viewed with eyes of regret:—

The Badshah Bagh, in which we were all encamped, is very broad and long, a place for pleasure and happiness. There is a marble summer-house of such graceful proportions and tasteful ornamentation as put to shame the foliage of the "tari." (the rose). The Kaisar Bagh, built by Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, is of great extent, and of its kind without an equal. It contains many varieties of fruit trees and flowers of every hue, and lofty buildings in harmony with the place surmounted by gilt pinnacles, the doors and walls are decorated with various paintings. They seem to the attentive observer to be weeping for the fate of their own painters. Our stay in the garden was somewhat protracted. After spending three hours we were refreshed by the sight of one-fourth of the garden only.

Husainabad, an Imambarah built by Muhammad Ali Shah of Oudh, contains two tazias, called by the people of Lucknow Zarih,* made of chased gold and silver, and the building is beautiful and built of marble, and further adorned by carpets and chandeliers. Before the entrance is a large tank full of water, in which is a boat containing a life-size image of a horse. The entrance of this building is grand, and there is a hot bath built of marble of great beauty. Ahsan-ud-Daula, brother of Nawab Mahsan-ud-Daula Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, King of Oudh's grandson, is the steward of this Imambarah. On hearing of our intended visit, he presented himself and received us with attention

* Zarih is the name given to the tomb of Hossain.

and courtesy, and on leaving we were presented with necklaces made of gold lace and packets of betel.

The Furangi Mahal is the name of a quarter in which many of the learned Sunni Muhammadans live, and we made the acquaintance of Maulavi Abdúl Hakím whom we found learned, good, and attentive.

In the Martiniere we were disappointed after what we had heard of this building, but there were some chandeliers and fine carpets and English furniture in it.

The Imambarah mosque and the "Rumi" gateway of the late Nawab Asuf-ud-Daula were inspected by us, and quite came up to our expectations; there are few such massive brick masonry structures in Hindustan.

The river Gúmtí, though of considerable width, is shallow; the water is light, wholesome, and sweet. Hundreds of boats of varied make float in its surface, and it is spanned by a fine iron bridge.

The Chattar Manzil is a beautiful and attractive building, its pinnacles are of gold, and the doors and walls are covered with pictures.

The Public garden is very large and filled with flowers and various European fruit trees; in a spaçious building are kept hundreds of birds of beautiful and varied plumage, and rare animals as well.

Khorshíd, majordomo to the King of Oudh, and now in our service, told us of the following places worth seeing, besides those above described:—The Kesar Farat Baksh, the Dilkusha, the Dilaram, Daulatpura, Musabagh, Almas Bagh, the garden of Mahsan-ud-daula, the garden of Manavar-ud-daula, the palace of Amir-ud-daula, the house of Roshun-ud-daula, the tomb of Nawab Yamín-ud-daula Saadat Ali Khan, the garden of Maka Tailor, the Aish Bagh, the "Namuna" shrine of Hazrat (the saint) Abbas, the Shabia of Najaf Ashraf, the Nakat-ka-zamín, the cemetery of Khuda Baksh Khan, the cemetery of Ashik Ali, the cemetery of Azim Allah Khan. As however we were pressed for time and bent on seeing Akbarabad (Agra),

we marched from Lucknow on the 12th of Jamadi-ul-akhir, and on the 16th our camp arrived at Cawnpúr on the bank of the Ganges.

The principal officers of Cawnpúr had had the bridge of boats carefully put in order and well-watered, and many officials came to meet us; the passage of our camp over the river was effected with great ease, and our camp was pitched on the parade-ground.

On the first day we inspected the canal, a branch of the Ganges canal, and the men in charge showed us how the lock gates opened and shut and the water was let in, and how boats were passed through, and how the water was turned on to the watermills, and all the other secrets of their craft. It was all done very expeditiously, and in truth it is a wonderful invention to bend the water to man's will; when we had seen everything, the men in charge were made happy by a present. Many of the gentlemen of Cawnpúr were pressing in their invitations to us, and that of Muhammad Abdal Rahman Khan Shakar, the manager of the Nizamí press, was accepted on account of the length and intimacy of our acquaintance, but all other invitations were refused. Next day there was a public durbar attended by the officers and native gentlemen of the city, who were pleased and gratified at the honour done them and by the Begam's courtesy. The durbar lasted from 8 till 11 A.M. Attar and pân were distributed at its conclusion. After the afternoon prayers our journey recommenced, and by daily marches Akbarabad was reached on the 3rd of Rajab, and we alighted in the Nur Afshan garden, and had some refreshment. This garden belonged to the Nurjahan Begam, wife of the Emperor Nuruddín Jahángír. At the present time, with the exception of paved walls and two or three reservoirs, it contains no building of any importance. The name of Nurjahan is so well known that a short account of her is not out of place here.

Kwaja Ghyas was in the service of the Emperor Akbar, and his daughter Maharunnissa was very beautiful and

romantic. The Kwaja had married her to Ali Kulí Khan, jaghirdar of the city of Burdwan, in the subah of Bengal. Jahangir, in the days when he was yet a prince, had seen this lovely woman in her maiden days, and had fallen in love with her at once, but kept his heart's secret to himself. On the 20th Jamadí-ud-akhir 1014 A.H., when he ascended the throne, he secretly resolved to murder the husband of Maharunnissa, and summoned Ali Kulí Khan from Burdwan to his presence. This man was a native of Iran, both brave and of great strength. One day the emperor had a hungry tiger, terrible and strong, let loose on the plain, and ordered Ali Kulí Khan to attack it without either sword or arrow. The Khan with great bravery did so, and killed the tiger with a dagger; the emperor pretended to be highly pleased, and bestowed on him the title of Sher Afgan Khan (the tiger-slaying Khan); but afterwards, according to secret instructions, a mahout set a *must* elephant at him, but the Khan this time also escaped and slew the elephant with his sword, and afterwards took leave and departed to Burdwan. In the year 1015 A.H., Jahangir ostentatiously appointed Kutubuddin Khan to the subah of Bengal, but in reality sent him to compass the death of Sher Afgan Khan. Accordingly he took some brave men with him; and went to see Sher Afgan Khan, and in the middle of the conversation a fight broke out, in which Sher Afgan Khan, Kutubuddin and several other men were killed.

As soon as Jahangir heard the news, he sent for Maharunnissa and bestowed on her the title of Ashrafunnissa Nurjahan Begam and espoused her, and became so infatuated with her that he entrusted the whole administration to her, so that even the royal firmans were impressed with the seal of Nurjahan Begam. Her seal bore this legend:—"*Nurjahan, gasht bafazl alah—hamdam-o-hamrah'z Jahangir Shah*" (Nurjahan, by God's grace, became united to Jahangir Shah); and on the coins of Jahangir were the effigies of Jahangir and Nurjahan on one side, and on the reverse was inscribed this couplet:—"Ba-hukam Shah Jahan-

gir yaft sad zewar, Banám Nurjahan Padshah Begam zar." (This coin, by the orders of Jahangir, received a hundred jewels, by the name of Nurjahan, royal lady, it received gold.) Kwaja Ghyas, father of Nurjahan, was promoted to be Wazir; his brother, Mirza Abul Hassan, received the title of Yam-in-ud-daula Asuf Khan. Arjamand Bani, daughter of Asuf Khan, ennobled by the title of Mamtaz Mahal, whose tomb is in the Taj at Agra, was married to the Emperor Shahjahan, the son of Jahangir. In the year 1055 A.H., Nurjahan Begam died at Lahore, and her tomb is by the side of that of Jahangir, in the Shalimar gardens, in Lahore. This couplet is a specimen of her poetry :—

Woo'd by soft airs the op'ning flowret blows
Thy smiles the keys my pent up heart unclose.

The ancient name of Akbarabad is Agra, which in the Greek (Yunani) language signifies a fort. The fort, which at present stands on the banks of the Jumna, was built by the Emperor Akbar. The English have therein stored warlike stores, such as small arms, cannon, and shot in a most orderly manner. We spent a week in this city. The garden and tomb in Tajganj in this city stand unrivalled; too much cannot be said in their praise. On the gateway are inscribed the Surat-o-Alfajar in the Togra character, and the clearness of the letters should be seen to be appreciated. The garden contains forty beegahs of land, and the walls are paved with marble, and there is a large reservoir filled to the brim, in which are 120 fountains. On the west side there is a lofty mosque, and on the east a counterpart of this mosque, called the assembly-room, of fine proportions, and with lofty columns. On the four corners of the garden are lofty pillars. The mausoleum itself is an octangular building of marble, with a minaret at each face, eight in all, and in the middle a lofty dome; inside the mausoleum are four large and four small vestibules, and in the middle a spacious square chamber; the

doors and walls inlaid with arabesques of flowers, both inside and outside. The verses of the holy Koran are inlaid so beautifully as quite to baffle description. The upper slabs of the tombs are inlaid with stones of different colours. The real tombs are in vaults, two,—one of Arjamand Bani Mamtaz Mahal, the other of the Emperor Shahjahan, on the headstone of which is the following inscription:—"The illustrious sacred tomb of the Emperor, gardener of paradise the seat of the blessed His Imperial Highness in the mansions of paradise, the favoured of Fortune, the Emperor Shahjahan Ghazi. May his tomb be holy, and he live for ever in heaven. On the 26th of Rajab 1076 A.H., at night, he departed this transitory life for the halls of eternity."

After seeing this we visited the fort. The Dewan Am, Dewan Khas, Takhtgah, the Massaman (octagon) bastion, the gem (pearl) mosque, the labyrinth house, the Khush-ab, the Sosan (a flower) mahal, the Shisha mahal, the palace of Mirrors, the Zanana garden,—are all built of red stone and white marble, the door and walls of the Surdkhana (summer-house) were formerly studded with diamonds, but now nothing remains but the holes in the walls in which they were set. It is said that when the royal apartments were occupied by Surajmal Jat, his soldiers picked out the gems. The elegance and delicacy of the Pearl Mosque are wonderful. After inspecting it we made a visit to the Sikandra garden, distant six miles from Agra, which covers 284 beegahs of land. It is surrounded by a brick wall 12 "guz"* high, with lofty towers in each corner. The walks are 20 yards wide, and paved with red stone, and each plot has its own water channel. In the centre of the garden is the mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar, with a large tank in front of it. This lofty mausoleum is most

* Guz is ordinarily rendered "yard," but the wall cannot be 36 feet high.

beautifully and massively constructed of red sandstone, marble, plumstone, black marble, and green-malachite stone. The dome is octagonal, and the exterior and interior walls are covered with inscriptions from the sacred writings, and on the doors is Persian poetry, of which the following stanzas and some couplets are here quoted :—

This arch is loftier than the front of the nine heavens ;
The light from its shade is the shining face of a star.
This spire* is the ornament of the nine heavens and seven constellations.
It springs from the illustrious tomb of the Emperor Akbar.

To the name of the King of kings of the everlasting kingdom,
Whose existence is exempt from non-entity (is eternal).

All the kings on the face of the earth
Receive their crowns, thrones, and seals at his hand.
Two worlds He created from His eternal beneficence:
One He made unseen, the other apparent.
At that time he bestowed this fleeting habitation (the world)
On kings with diadem, crown, and wealth,
In order that from their justice the times
Should be more promising than the gardens in the prime of spring.
When they choose the paths of justice,
They treat the stranger as their own flesh and blood.
That king who has thus lived in the world
Becomes a type of the all-protecting (God).
It was in the year nine hundred and sixty-two
That King Akbar became that type of the Omnipotent.
He sat upon a gilded throne.
In comparison with his throne the sky was put into the shade.
He embellished the earth with equity and justice,
The hearts of all the world were pleased at him
In the world for fifty and two years.
He thus held rule with great power.
As he prospered the world with justice,
So his illustrious soul went to the next world.
His soul was always favoured by God.
May the world of purity be inhabited by him.

In this mausoleum, as in that in Tajganj, there is a cenotaph on the upper storey, and the real tomb in a vault; and besides the tomb of the Emperor Akbar are the tombs

* i. e., building.

of Aram Bánu, Shakarunnissa Begam, Asalat Bánu, Shahzada Khanam, daughter of Akbar, and Rabiá Sultan Begam, wife of Akbar, also the tomb of Suleman Shekoh and several others whose names are unknown.

After the famous buildings of Agra had been visited, we marched thence on the 9th of Rajab, and halted on the 11th at the city of Muttra, where we saw hundreds of temples, but preferred that of Mani Ram Seth to all others. The reliefs on the temples are excellent, and the work on the stone as fine as if done by a camel's hair brush, and the same may be said of Bindrabun. On the arrival of our carriages, the agent of Seth Mani Ram was in attendance, and showed us over the temple, which is a very large one, with a lofty entrance. All over the doors and walls are depicted gods in the shape of cows, tigers, monkies, men, women, snakes, and fish, and in the enclosure of this temple there is a large garden tastefully laid out with reservoirs and fountains. There is a canal leading to a small tank, and round it a series of small marble arches. On our return from being shown round, we met a crowd who were dragging along on a wheeled car a black image, singing and dancing as they went; among them on either side of the image's head was a Brahmin walking, the one with an umbrella, and the other with a fan. We concluded that this was the god himself out for an airing in the garden. Some one asked them to draw aside the umbrella and let the face of the image be seen by us. Their answer was that the sun would strike on the god; saying this they brought their carriage to a stand, and asked us for an offering for their god. My revered mother replied that it was usual for travellers to be shown hospitality by residents, and that the God ought rather to give her an offering; after which conversation we went away.

On the 20th of the month Rajab we reached Shahjahanabad (Delhi). This city has from very ancient times been the capital of Hindustan, and its story has been related at length in histories of India; it has several times been

refounded and depopulated, and has been known under many names. It was first of all called Hastinapur, then Delhi, next Toglukabad, then Sher Mandal, and lastly Shahjahanabad. Outside the present walls, signs of former habitations are to be found on every side for miles, for instance, from the village of Furidabad, which is 24 miles from the present town, there are traces of ruined houses to this day. In the Asar-an-sanadid (traces of the worthies) there is an elaborate history of this city. The tombs of the saints Sultan Nizam-ud-din and Khaja Nasir-ud-din, the light of Delhi, are holy places, and in the enclosures belonging to these tombs are the graves of many pious men, saints, and princes. After saying the prayers for the dead at their shrines, we visited the spring (jhirni). This is a very charming place. There is a very large tank below a hill, from which there is a waterfall into the tank, and there is a summer-house built on the margin of the water for the accommodation of visitors. There are also many mango trees there.

Thence we tourists had to visit the tomb of Kwaja Kutab-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki, where was the tower of the Kawat-ul-Islam mosque built by Sultan Shamasaddin Altamsh. Now this lofty tower is better known as the "Lat of Kutab Sahib;" it is covered with inscriptions. Hundreds of mausoleums of nobles and kings in the neighbourhood of Delhi lift their heads in the sky (pierce the sky), but the mausoleums of the Emperor Hamaiyun and of Mansur Ali Khan surpass all the others. We also visited the Lall Kila (red fort) of Delhi. The public and private halls of audience, the ramparts and bastions are all of the old buildings which survive; the rest are in ruins, and after looking upon the shapeless heaps of bricks, stones, and mortar with regret, we went to see the Salimgarh. We also saw the bridge which was being built over the Jumna for the railway, and went by way of the Zinat-ul-masajid to visit Shahjahan's Jama Masjid. The gates of the mosque were closed, but the English officers had them opened for us, and after our inspection we returned to our encampment.

On the 27th Rajab, we commenced our march from Delhi to Jaipúr, which we reached in safety on the 11th Sháaban. The Maharaja of Jaipúr arranged the ceremony of our reception in the following fashion:—As soon as the elephants of our procession, with the Political Agent of Bhopal, reached the city gateway, there appeared a band of about 200 horsemen and footmen, with coloured wands of office in their hands, calling out "make way, make way" in a respectful manner; behind them about 30 gentlemen, relatives of the Maharaja, were mounted on horseback, drawn up in a line parallel with the gate; outside the gate the artillerymen fired a salute. Then the Raja himself, accompanied by the Political Agent of Jaipúr, appeared mounted on an elephant, whose howdah was of the Hindustani pattern, and made of gold, while the Political Agent's howdah was of the English pattern, and made of silver. The Raja wore a white coat and a red turban, he had on an emerald necklace, a dagger in his waist-band, and a scimitar suspended from a shoulder-strap, while a second jewelled-sword was placed in front of him in the howdah.

On our side my revered mother and the Political Agent urged on their elephants and shook hands with the Maharaja. After the usual greetings on both sides, the party advanced together. The infantry and cavalry in full uniform presented arms after the approved fashion; owing to the crowd of soldiers and spectators, the procession proceeded very slowly to the palace, where there are numerous gateways and courtyards. After passing these gateways, at each of which soldiers presented arms, the procession halted before the fourth gateway, and the Raja alighted, and was carried in a hawádár* to the fifth gateway, where he stopped.

When we and our officers of State and the English gentlemen reached this spot, the crowd of servants, attendants, and soldiers was very great, and therefore the Maharaja led us into a summer-house, where, under a canopy sup-

* Hawádár, an open man-carriage.

ported by silver poles, were placed two chairs, on one of which the Raja took his seat, and my revered mother on the other to his right, while the Political Agents of Jaipúr and Bhopal were accommodated with chairs to the left, and in a line with them were seated the Raja's relatives; in this assembly there were nearly 300 persons of distinction. Sheodin, the Minister, sat immediately behind the Raja. On the right of my revered mother, sat the officers of State and members of the ruling family of Bhopal. Minstrels came and sang and then withdrew, then twenty-five nautch girls, in beautiful dresses, began to dance to an accompaniment of a drum and two guitars: after a short time the Maharaja offered with his own hands attar, pân, and garlands of flowers to my revered mother, the two Political Agents, to Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, Nawab Amrau Dúla, and the minister (Madár-ul-mahám), while the Jaipúr Minister distributed attar and pân to the rest of the assembly, after which we took leave and went to our camp.

Next day the Raja signified his intention of returning the visit, and the summer-house in the Rambagh was the place chosen for his reception. My revered mother, accompanied by her Minister, proceeded as far as the city walls to meet the Raja, and when his *cortege* arrived at the gate of the Rambagh, a salute was fired from the guns; and as we had not brought our own Artillery with us, the Raja had very kindly ordered his Artillery to supply as many guns as the Nawab Begam might require, and also the great landowners of Jaipúr had received instructions to honour us with salutes from the day we first set foot in Jaipúr territory, and these instructions had been carried out. We also received salutes from the Raja's own followers when marching in the Crown lands.

To resume, when the Raja's *cortege* arrived at the Rambagh, he was received at the gateway by Hafiz Muhammad Hassan Khan, naib Bakshi, and by the first Secretary of State; and at the second summer-house, by Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan and Nawab Amrau Dúla, while my revered mother received him at the edge of the carpet,

and the arrangements were in every respect similar to those at the reception held by the Raja. Trays of presents, elephants, horses, &c., were presented to the Raja, who after a short visit took his leave.

On Thursday, the 13th Shában, the Raja sent uncooked provisions for the whole camp and invited us to a dinner to be given in his own palace; so after sunset we, our friends, and relatives to the number of 17, went to the palace, where we found not the Raja himself, but the Vakíl. My mother sent her compliments to the Raja, which were suitably acknowledged by him. In the building in which dinner was served, was a large reservoir full to the brim with water, and in the reservoir was a raised platform containing a fountain. All round the tank were arcades, in which nautch girls were dancing, but after a short time the dancing ceased, and the dinner was served, of which all partook. One hundred and twenty dishes of different kinds were put on the table, all dainty and appetising. Adjoining this building was another room, in which the Political Agents of Jaipúr and Bhopal were entertained at a dinner after the English fashion. After the repast was over, and we had washed our hands, we were conducted to a very spacious building to witness a display of fireworks. There were rows of chairs in the building, and Pandit Sheodín, the Minister, was sitting there. On seeing us at the farther end, he rose most respectfully, and with the greatest politeness showed us to our seats.

In front of this building was a very large tank, in which some 40 or 50 fountains were playing. Here trays of presents were set out and fireworks let off; after which we and the two Political Agents visited the Maharaja. Some two hundred gentlemen were present at this durbar, and nautch girls danced in gold-spangled dresses; after the usual formal salutations on both sides and sitting a short time, we took leave, on which the Maharaja presented each guest with a necklace of gold-lace, a garland of flowers, and a packet of betel according to custom, and then my revered

mother addressed the Raja in these words:—"Your Highness has treated us with all the courtesy and hospitality which is due from the great to the great, and we are much gratified by your friendliness." After which we departed for our camp.

Next day Pandit Sheodin came to our durbar and said that he had been at great pains to bring about the meeting between us and the Maharaja, notwithstanding the opposition shown by the Maharaja's relatives, because he was convinced in his heart of the good effect of the friendship of two powerful chiefs. Next he spoke of the arrangements which were made during the mutiny, and said that Captain (?) Eden had repeatedly spoken of us (the Sikandar Begam) in the highest terms. My revered mother asked what was the strength of the army in Jaipúr, and also what the State revenues amounted to. He replied that the army consisted of 20,000 men, and the revenue was a crore of rupees (= one million sterling), of which 33 lacs were in the hands of the jaghirdars, 33 lacs were spent in charity, and 34 lacs on State purposes, after which the Pandit took leave.

Jaipúr and the suburbs are fine, the buildings are tasteful, the streets wide, clean, and straight, the gardens are well-cared-for and attractive. The houses of the nobles are all built of marble, their construction is good, and their appearance elegant and imposing.

On the 11th Shában we marched from Jaipúr and arrived at the city of Ajmir on the 24th Shában, and recited the prayers for the dead at the tomb of Kwaja Mäin-ud-din Chishti. There are many attendants at the tomb, and contrary to the true faith, they pray excessively to the departed, and disturb the saint's soul thereby. On the last day of Shában we proceeded on our route thence, and on the 12th Ramzan reached the cantonment of Nimach, and on the 20th that of Augur, and on the 29th Sehore, and on the 3rd Shawal arrived at Bhopal, our own home, after traversing a distance of 1,670 miles in six months and eight days. Over and

above our usual expenses, and the price of articles newly purchased, Rs. 68,154-2-3 were spent during the tour.

## CHAPTER VI.

### IN WHICH THE JOURNEY TO AGRA IS NARRATED.

MY revered mother has thus described this journey. I received information from Major Hutchinson, Political Agent of Bhopal, that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India intended to visit Agra in the month of February 1863, and that the principal chiefs of India would be received by him there. On the 6th Jumadi-ul-akhir 1279 A.H., I, accompanied by the officers of State, members of my family and my suite and attendants, 2,470 persons, all told, marched from Bhopal to the town of Bairesia, and on the 1st of Rajab took our departure for Akbarabad (Agra). We reached the town of Seronj on the 4th, the cantonment of Guna on the 12th, Sheopuri on the 19th, and on Monday, the 28th, arrived in Gwalior and encamped on the plain of the "Phul-bagh" (flower garden). Four principal sirdars of Maharaja Scindia's received us, and the Maharaja entertained the whole of our camp.

The Maharaja, who was absent at Jhansi, on hearing of our arrival, returned, and was desirous of an interview with us. On the 5th Shában, Monday, at 8 A.M., accompanied by eighteen principal officers of State and the Political Agent of Sehore, we went to the Maharaja's palace, and were received with a salute of nineteen guns, and Satulia Sahib met us at our carriage. There was a guard of honour of two companies of soldiers. On entering the palace we were shown into a room most beautifully furnished, in front of which was a canopy of cloth supported on silver poles. The Maharaja advanced ten steps and shook us by the hand, begging us to be seated. In this audience there were nearly fifty persons of distinction. After the usual conversation on such occasions, the Maharaja first presented attar to me, next to the Political Agent, Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, Nawab Moizz Muhammad Khan, and

Nawab Amrau Dulá, but with the packets of betel he only honoured me and the Political Agent, the rest of the party were served by his Minister, and in the same way the garlands of flowers were presented. Then two white handkerchiefs steeped in rose-water were brought in and presented by the Maharaja, one to me, and the other to the Political Agent, after which we took leave, the Maharaja escorting us to the edge of the carpet.

Next day, Tuesday, the 6th Shában 1279, corresponding with the 27th January 1863 A.D., the Maharaja returned the visit at my tents, and the same ceremonies were observed by us, and both at his arrival and departure a salute of 21 guns was fired, and arms were presented by a guard of honour of cavalry and infantry. The arrangement of the Maharaja's escort was as follows:—First of all was an advanced guard of cavalry, then columns of Mewatti infantry, then a troop of carbineers, then a number of elephants with gold embroidered trappings and howdahs of great beauty; next came led-horses caparisoned in gold and silver, then a body of mace-bearers with lion-headed maces, behind them messengers. Then archers, then spearmen, next three troops of lancers, next four principal Sirdars of the State, and then the Maharaja himself mounted on a grey horse, and behind him the officers of his army and his cavalry in red. On the 11th Shaban, we turned our faces from Gwalior towards Akbarabad, and on the 20th Shaban, corresponding with the 10th February, Tuesday, we reached that city, and were met by the Collector of Agra, and received a salute and all customary honors. On the 23rd Shaban, Colonel Durand, the Foreign Secretary, accompanied by some gentlemen of rank, visited us on behalf of the Governor-General, whose compliments he presented, and then asked after our health, and after staying some few minutes, the usual attar and pân were produced, and the interview came to an end.

On Monday the 16th February I went to the Governor-General's private Durbar, accompanied by eight of the officers of State and members of my family, all on elephants.

A Secretary, an Aide-de-camp of the Governor-General, and the Political Agent of Bhopal, advanced five hundred paces beyond the camp; and Colonels Durand (the Foreign Secretary) and Meade (the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India) advanced to the further extremity of the camp road to meet us. A salute of 19 guns was fired, and the Governor-General met us at the edge of the carpet. The Foreign Secretary said to me, "The Governor-General tells me that Lord Canning on his return to London spoke very highly of you to Her Majesty, who was much pleased and would like to have seen you." I replied, "I am one of her humble servants, and it is very gracious of her to call me to mind." The Secretary said, "Is it true that you intend to visit Mecca?" I replied, "Yes; it is my duty to go there once in my life, and by God's blessing I will go and will write to you. My daughter, the Shahjahan Begam, is dependent on your kindness." He said, "She is often in my thoughts." Then he said, "Do you intend to pay a visit to Fatehpur Sikri, &c. His Excellency is pleased at this intention, because he himself is fond of travel and visiting cities." I replied, "His tours are royal, and mine are to open my mind and improve my understanding, because much experience is to be gained by travel." Soon afterwards we departed to our camp. On the 17th February, corresponding with the 27th Shaban, we attended the public Durbar of His Excellency the Viceroy, and the following is his speech in Durbar:—

PRINCES AND CHIEFS,*—In inviting you to meet me here, it was my wish, in the first place, to become acquainted with you personally, and also to convey to you, in obedience to the gracious command which I received from Her Majesty upon my departure from England, the assurance of the deep interest which Her Majesty takes in the welfare of the Chiefs of India. I have now to thank you for the alacrity with which, in compliance with my request

* *Vide* the *Calcutta Gazette*, March 7th, 1863.

you have, many of you from considerable distance, assembled at this place. Having received during the course of the last fews days many of the principal personages among you in private Durbar, where I have had the opportunity of communicating my views on matters of interest and importance, I need not detain you on this occasion by many words.

" Before taking leave of you, however, I desire to address to you collectively a few general remarks upon the present state of affairs in India and upon the duties which that state of affairs imposes upon us all.

" Peace, I need hardly remind you of the fact, now happily prevails throughout the whole extent of this vast empire. Domestic treason has been crushed, and foreign enemies have been taught to respect the power of the arms of England. The British Government is desirous to take advantage of this favourable opportunity not to extend the bounds of its dominions, but to develope the resources and draw forth the natural wealth of India, and thus to promote the well-being and happiness both of the rulers and of the people.

" With this view many measures of improvement and progress have already been introduced, and among them I may name as most conspicuous the Railway and Electric Telegraphs—those great discoveries of this age which have so largely increased the wealth and power of the mightiest nations of the west.

" By diffusing education among your vassals and dependents, establishing schools, promoting the construction of good roads, and suppressing with the whole weight of your authority and influence barbarous usages and crimes, such as infanticide, suttee, thuggee and dacoitee, you may, Princes and Chiefs, effectually second these endeavours of the British Government and secure for yourselves and your people a full share of the benefits which the measures to which I have alluded are calculated to confer upon you. I have observed with satisfaction the steps which many of

you have already taken in this direction, and more especially the enlightened policy which has induced some of you to remove transit and other duties which obstructed the free course of commerce through your States.

As representing the Paramount Power, it is my duty to keep the peace in India. For this purpose Her Majesty the Queen has placed at my disposal a large and gallant army, which, if the necessity should arise, I shall not hesitate to employ for the repression of disorder and the punishment of any who may be rash enough to disturb the general tranquillity. But it is my duty to extend the hand of encouragement and friendship to all who labour for the good of India, and to assure you that the Chiefs who make their own dependents content and prosperous establish thereby the strongest claims on the favour and protection of the British Government.

"I bid you now, Princes and Chiefs, farewell for a time with the expression of my earnest hope that, on your return to your homes, health and happiness may attend you."

After this speech the Durbar broke up. On the 18th February the Governor-General, according to custom, visited me at my tents, and was received with the usual honours. On the 19th the Governor-General left Agra, and on the 9th Ramzan, corresponding with the 8th February, we set out for Bhopal. On the 11th Shawál, corresponding with Tuesday the 1st April, we reached Bhopal.

"In this journey the expenses were heavier than usual, being Rs. 41,636-3-9. Nazar to the Governor-General, Rs. 19,176-10-9. Road expenses, Rs. 29,459-9. I received a khilat from the Governor-General of Rs. 17,100.

## CHAPTER VII.

### JOURNEY TO MECCA.

As soon as my revered mother had put in order the affairs of the State, and obtained some rest, she determined upon visiting Holy Mecca. Her mother, the Nawab Kudsia Begam, and uncle Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan also

accompanied her. On the 22nd Jamadi-ul-awal 1280 A. H., corresponding with the 5th November 1863 A.D., on a Thursday, she left Bhopal, and spent three days in the "Farhat Afza" Bagh, outside the city, and having sent on her train of attendants of both sexes to the number of nearly a thousand on the road to Bombay, she herself, with her private servants, her mother and uncle, set out on the 24th of the same month, and marched, stage by stage, as far as Mahargam, near the town of Búrhanpúr, the furthest point to which the railway was then open; where they took the train for Bombay, which place they reached in safety on the 2nd of Rajab. Here three ships were engaged, two being sailing vessels, on which all her attendants and baggage were embarked, while she herself, accompanied by her mother, her uncle, the Minister of Bhopal, and her more immediate attendants, were accommodated on a steamer. They sailed on the 25th of Rajab 1280 A.H., corresponding with the 6th January 1864 A.D., and by God's blessing had a prosperous voyage to Jeddah, which was reached on the 13th of Shábán 1280 A.H., corresponding with the 23rd January 1864 A.D.; and on the 17th of the same month, at the time of *vespers*, they arrived in Holy Mecca and performed the prescribed observances; and on the 9th of Zilhij completed the rites of the Hajjul-Islam. Their proposed visit to the illustrious Medina was postponed on account of the road being infested by Bedouins. On the 14th of Zilhij of the same year, corresponding with the 21st of May, the port of Jeddah was reached, and sailing thence in the steamer, accompanied by her mother, uncle, and immediate attendants she arrived at Bombay on the 5th Muharram 1281 A. H., corresponding with Friday, the 10th of June 1864. Here she interchanged visits with the Governor and leading gentlemen of the place, and on the 16th of Safar 1281 A. H., corresponding with the 21st July 1864, she look rail for Mohiabad* (Poona). After

* *Mohiabad*, probably named from Mohi-uddín-Aurungzeb Emperor.

staying there a few days she departed on Saturday, the 1st Rabi-ul-Akhir 1281, corresponding with the 3rd September 1864 A.D., and on Wednesday, the 3rd of Jamadi-ul-awal 1281 A.H., corresponding with the 5th October 1864, she entered Bhopal. She was officially escorted in, from as far as Sikandrabad.

We are not informed by any History that any Emperor of Hindustan, or Muhammadan Chief, has ever before performed the Hajj; now, any Chief who may do so, will only follow in the Sikandar Begam's lead. In this journey, besides the cost of cloth and jewels of great price, which were presented to the Sherif of Mecca and the attendants at the shrine and to beggars and the poor in charity, Rs. 1,99,882-8 were spent, and the Kudsia Begam also spent a like amount.

My sainted mother has kept a diary of this pilgrimage bound in quarto, which was translated into English and published by Mrs. Osborne, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Willoughby Osborne, C. B., Political Agent of Bhopal the following is a summary of her diary.

Jeddah is situated on the sea shore, and the houses rise to the height of seven storeys, which gives the town a striking appearance from a distance. The walls and foundations are brick and mortar, but the roofs are of mud. Masonry bathrooms* and kitchens form part of the houses themselves. The town contains a mixed population of Arabs, Turks, Abyssinians, and a few Hindustanis principally engaged in trade. The Arab costume is adopted, and Arabic is the language in common use. The better classes are well fed and well clothed. The water in the town is brackish, which necessitates the storage of rain water in huge reservoirs outside the town, whence the drinking water of the whole population is drawn throughout the year. There are British, French and Persian Consuls resident here. Outside the town is the shrine of the Holy Eve. This shrine is

* In India the kitchens, at any rate, are in a separate building.

enclosed by parallel walls, about 300 yards long, and breast high; at the head end there is a small cupola and a similar cupola at the feet; while in the middle, where the waist would be, is a large dome. The shrine is surrounded by a large enclosure filled with graves. Syud Abdálla, Sherif of Mecca, and Izat Ahmad Pasha, Governor of Mecca, heard the news of my coming, and wrote to me. After leaving Jeddah, and before we had proceeded far, Suleman Beg, son of the Pasha, and the Sherif's younger brother, each with a retinue of fifty Turkish cavalry, met us and performed the ceremony of istikbal.

On the 17th Shaban, about *vespers*, the Holy Mecca was reached. We found 100 infantry in full uniform, with some cavalry, who had been sent by the Sherif of Mecca, drawn up for our reception. These men presented arms to us, while our ears were saluted by the voice of the Muezzin calling to vespers. We passed through the Báb-ul-Salám to the Ham Sherifa, and performed the observance of the Toáf-i-qudoom, then the ceremony of "Sai," and were on our way to the buildings reserved for the accommodation of the Hajjis, when the Sherif's slaves came up and said that the Sherif had found us separate apartments in his own house, to which we were to repair. We were received on our arrival by the Sherif's brother, who, after the first formal greetings, conducted us into a spacious house; all the verandahs of which were covered with gold embroidered carpets of blue velvet. Some Abyssinian slaves, who stood respectfully at the edge of the carpet, requested us to partake of refreshments, but I hesitated to do so, on which Jafir Effendi, our interpreter, informed us, that to do so was in accordance with the customs of the place, on which we sat down to dinner, Every variety of food in 500 dishes was set before us; and when dinner was over, we retired to our sleeping apartments. Next day the Sherif sent us trays of food, both morning and evening; on the third day I took a house near the Amar-bin-Akil. Mighty Mecca is a very large city, and contains many large seven storeyed houses; the products

of every quarter of the globe are procurable there, and many of the inhabitants are rich, but far the richest of all is the Sherif. The city is surrounded by hills devoid of trees, grass and water, which accounts for the intense heat during the day time, when the wind blows fierce and hot; the nights are somewhat cooler, and the moon is very clear and bright. Notwithstanding the frequent presence of clouds accompanied by thunder and lightning, it seldom rains. Singing and dancing are never mentioned; and if there be any, it is held to be very disreputable. The Turkish soldiers resemble English soldiers except in their drill and dress, which is different. The chief food of the place is camel's flesh and mutton; coffee, tea and the hukah are fashionable. The Arabs are very industrious and strong, and although as dark and spare as Indians, I have seen porters lift on their shoulders a load of two maunds* weight, and carry it upstairs with ease. The voice and the hair of the inhabitants are not pleasing. The women are bigger than the men. No other religion besides that of Islam is professed there. The language spoken is an impure dialect of Arabic; in fact, with the exception of the household of the Shebi, who is the custodian of the holy shrine, and that of the Sherif, and perhaps one or two other families, there are no pure Arabs in the place. The population is composed of Indians, Bokhariots, Afghans, &c., who have become like Arabs in appearance from their long residence, and having been settled there for one or two generations. Besides there is an annual influx of pilgrims of various countries speaking different languages which accounts for the impurity of the language spoken. The country folks are still pure Arabs, and their language is purer. The custom of taking service and receiving wages does not prevail there, but slaves of both sexes, Abyssinians, Georgians and Circassians, are sold in open market; these persons are made to do domestic service, and can be sold

* Two maunds would be nearly 200 lbs English.

again at pleasure. Each ward of the town contains large and beautifully built hot baths with separate accommodation for the two sexes. The Zabída Khátun canal affords good and sweet water for drinking purposes. Figs, pomegranates, water melons and cucumbers are imported from Taíf, and most excellent they are. The horses of Arabia, the saddlery and harness, both Persian and Turkish, require no remark; they should be seen to be properly appreciated. At all times of the night and day every kind of food can be procured in the bazars, but there is no salt in the stews and roasts, because it is the custom of the Turks to keep salt ground fine by them, and to add it when they take their meals according to taste.

In the Masjid Al Harám are the five calls to prayer: and after midnight the call to "tahejd," and in the morning the tahrim, and at the time of afternoon prayers the takbir,—all of which services are read in a loud voice. The tahrim is as follows: A man ascends to the top of a lofty tower in the early morning and chants in a loud voice some verses of the Koran, containing allusions to the majesty and powers of God and the unity of the Divinity, and His grace, mercy and forgiveness, and he asks blessings on the Prophet, his descendants and companions. This tahrim is a very inspiring and beautiful service.

The buildings around the tomb of the Prophet are called colleges, and the chambers are called "khalwat," and in them the pilgrims are housed.

On the 16th Ramzan 1280 A. H., I visited the Sherif at his house, and after the "istikbal" reached the palace, where three eunuchs conducted us to the first floor, and then withdrew to be succeeded by Georgian slave girls in clean dresses, who, in like manner, escorted us to the second floor and made way for the Egyptian women, who were drawn up in a row to receive us. They took us by the arm and carefully led us up the stairs to the third storey, where we were received by two wives of the Sherif, and conducted into the hall of audience. The Sherif's mother rose on seeing

me, and advanced to the edge of the carpet to meet us; then his two wives shook hands with us, and kissed us on both sides of the neck, on both cheeks and on our lips and chin, and, with the greatest politeness, led us to the centre seat in the room. The whole house was furnished with glass lamps and beautiful carpets. The Sherif's wives were young and very beautiful, and from their heads to their waists were quite smothered in diamonds. They had silk kerchiefs, called in Arabic "asabah," tied on their heads; and on their kerchiefs were set circlets of diamonds in clusters like a coronet; their elegance and beauty was beyond description. The sprays of diamonds shook with the least motion when they spoke or moved. After an hour had elapsed, the Sherif asked leave to be introduced; so he came and conversed with the greatest courtesy. Coffee, pomegranate sherbet, rosewater, and incense burning in a censer were set before us, and, according to Arab custom, I drank coffee and sherbet, and after fumigating my skirts and sleeves with the fragrant censer, took leave, the wives accompanying us to the door.

Suleman Beg, son of the Pasha, is our authority for the statement that the monthly pay of each Turkish soldier is twenty karash, which amounts to Rs. 3-8 in British rupees, besides which his clothes, food three times a day, tea, coffee and uniform, are found for him by the State, so that the total cost of each man to the State is about Rs. 21. Muhammad Husain, our interpreter, told us that gentlemen visiting the Sherif had to kiss the back of his hand before taking their seats, and that Bedouins and common people kiss the skirts of his coat, and attendants and slaves kiss the corner of his Divan, although this custom is not sanctioned by the divine law, but is disapproved and even condemned.

Arafát* is nine coss (18 miles) from the abode of God (Mecca), and there, on the 8th Zilhij, the clothing of abstinence is put on; the 9th is the day of the Haj. Clothed with

* Arafát, a sacred hill.

the outward signs of abstinence, but with head bare, and continually repeating the prayer, beginning Labek-alla-ham,* the pilgrims collect in this place which is covered with their tents. There is no prohibition against eating or drinking; every man may cook and eat whatever he pleases, only he may not pass out of the bounds of Arafát. The priest arrives on a camel at the time of afternoon prayers, and ascends to the summit of Jabal Rahmat, where there is a pulpit, whence he reads the service (khutba) till vespers. "Wakuf" is the name given to this space of time; this wakuf is strictly enjoined, but there is no divine sanction for ascending the hill; every one may stand where he pleases. Towards evening, one section of pilgrims, after sunset on that day leave Arafát and pass the night at Mazdulfah. Salutes are fired from the Turkish cannon, dragged to the place by Egyptian mules. In this procession the guns are loaded and fired without being halted for the purpose. This part of the ceremony is, according to the law, an innovation and an error. On the 10th Zilhij, Mazdulfah is left in the early morning for Maná, whence the pilgrims go to Holy Mecca, and perform the ceremony of walking round the tomb (Toaf) after which they return to Maná the same day and stay there for three days, performing the Rami-Jumar. These three days go by the name of tashrik; after their accomplishment on the 12th or 13th of Zilhij, the pilgrims come to Mecca, perform their farewell procession round the shrine, and then join their respective Kafilas, and start for their own countries.

The day of the Haj presents a most marvellous spectacle. Thousands and tens of thousands of men and women, young and old, ignorant and learned, nobles and beggars, from

* Labék—The following is a translation of this Prayer: I am present, O God, in Thy service I am present; I am present, Thou art God alone, I am present in Thy service. Of a truth all praise, glory and power is Thine, and Thine alone. I am present in Thy service, O cherisher of the world, I am present. O Thou who forgivest sins, I am present in Thy service. I give Thee help in Thy work: all good is in Thy hands and all things incline to Thee.

far and near, clad in one dress, the outward sign of abstinence, are collected together, practice humility, confess their sins, and send up prayers for forgiveness. Tents of every colour are to be seen for miles, and all sorts of curiosities are to be met with in the bazar; countless numbers of camels and sheep are slaughtered. Every year the Sultan of Turkey sends a covering of black silk for the Kaaba. This is brought by the Egyptian Kafila on a pack camel, with great ceremony, honoured by an escort of Turkish soldiers. The animal selected is of great beauty, and is caparisoned with green velvet embroidered with gold. It is also accompanied by several other camels, also beautifully caparisoned and ready to carry the sacred pack, should any accident befall the camel originally selected. On the day of the Haj, this pack is halted at the foot of Jabal Ráhmat, and after the Haj, is taken to Holy Mecca, when the covering of the previous year is removed, and this one for the ensuing year is put on in its place. Of the old covering half is the perquisite of the Shebi or Porter of the Kaaba, and the other half is divided among the attendants and ministers of the shrine, and by them sold in little pieces to the pilgrims as relics. The curtain over the door and the gold-embroidered "waistband" are the shares of the Sherif Sahib. The internal covering of the tomb is of red silk, but is not changed every year; it is only when a new Sultan of Turkey ascends the throne that a new covering is sent. Jaláluddín Syútí states in his book that the pack in which the covering of the Kaaba is carried, is returned to Egypt for good luck, and the day of its return is celebrated with rejoicings like the Ede. This unauthorised custom dates from the year 675 A.H. Originally the Kaaba was draped with a white cloth till the Abbasi Kalifah Nasruddín gave it a coloured covering, since which time the custom has continued.

On the 8th, 10th, and 14th Zilhij, a State procession is made by the Sherif. In front are led twenty-two Arab horses with trappings and housings of gold and silver, studded with gems; then swift she-camels with gold embroidered

coverings, two of which are for the Sherif Sahib's special use, and have their necks adorned with strings of pearls, the value of which cannot be less than four lakhs of rupees (£40,000); behind them come 200 or 300 horsemen in Turkish costume; next a regiment of Turkish infantry; next 400 slaves of the Sherifs all well-armed and well-dressed, then the Sherif's sons and kinsmen mounted on horses with saddles of gold, followed by Elders, Arab Shaikhs, Turkish officers, and Abyssinian and Georgian slaves; next come the various Arab clans and hermits, all on camels, to the number of nearly a thousand; and finally the Sherif Sahib himself, mounted on a horse, with jewelled furniture. The procession is accompanied by music. After the Haj, for three days the table of the Sherif is kept ready spread, and all visitors are entertained with food.

Yelmalam is the name of a hill, before which, on the sea-shore, the pilgrims from India and Arabia don the garb of abstinence. This dress is as follows: The pilgrims first bathe and then gird a white cloth round their loins, and throw a white scarf over one shoulder. Women are not required to change their dress, but it is incumbent on them to wear no silk, nor to cover the face with their skirts when awake, nor to use either scent or antimony, nor to wear jewellery, nor to mingle with the other sex. The dressing of the hair with scented oil, and the use of combs, are forbidden, and the slaughter of any animal is prohibited until after the ceremonies of the Toáf round the Holy Kaaba and the Sai, or race between Safá and Marwah, and the performance of the "Korbani" and "Halk" be completed. Halk is the name given to the complete shaving of the head; and cutting a portion of the hair off with scissors is known as "Kasar," or the shortcoming. It is the practice for women to cut off a hand-breadth with scissors. "Korbani" is the name given to the sacrifice of some animal, either camel, goat or sheep, the clothing of which is given away in charity, and the meat may be eaten by all comers.

Six miles from Mecca in the mountains is a place called Tunáim, from whence a pilgrimage is made ; after dressing as above, and reciting two extra prayers, the pilgrims come to Mecca calling out Labék by the way, and after observing the Toáf they recite two extra prayers at the house of Abraham, run the race between Safa and Marwah, shave their heads, or cut their hair, and then divest themselves of their pilgrim's dress.

Bérzdí Tuí is the name of a well outside the city of Mecca but within the sacred precincts, where the Hajjis bathe before entering Holy Mecca. This bath is indispensable; there is now a mosque near the spot.

The Masjid Járánah is eighteen miles from Mecca, and is also a starting place for the Hajjis, and this is called the long pilgrimage.

The Jabal Nur,* Ghar—hara (the hill of light and the cave Hará) is within the holy precincts, but outside the town of Mecca. Here it was that the revelation of God first descended upon the Prophet. This mountain is nearly two miles high; there is an arched doorway over the mouth of the cave Hará, and the pilgrims have to recite two extra prayers. There is a mosque also on the Koh-i-núr.*

The Jabal Súr is also included in the limits of the Haram but outside the town of Mecca, and is celebrated as the place where the Prophet of God offered prayers. The Hajjis offer up two extra prayers in this place also, but it is not obligatory to visit this mountain.

Jinnát al Máalla is the name of the cemetery of Holy Mecca; it contains many tombs of the elders of Islam, and is reverently visited by the Hajjis. Veneration of the departed is enjoined by the sacred writings, especially of such holy men and saints as are buried here.

The mosque of the Jinns is situated without the city of Mecca. It was on this spot that the Jinns came and pro-

* Jabal Nur and Koh-i-nur appears to be the same place—The Hill of Light.

fessed their belief in the Prophet. Musalmans also offer up two extra prayers in the Shajra mosque.

The hill Bukbís is near the sacred precincts; there the Prophet of God was in the habit of worshipping; this hill is now covered with houses.

Safa and Marwah are two hills between which there is now a bazar; near one corner of the Kaaba there is an arched doorway, the name of which is Safá; opposite to it and at a distance of 250 paces is another hill, named Marwah, the space between has to be traversed seven times, prayers being offered up the while. Between them are two pillars, which are called miles; men have to run, but women are allowed to walk at their own pace. This running is called the "Sai" (Race).

The precincts of the Holy Kaaba contain twenty-two gates, with one, two and three doors. The following is a list of them: On the western side, the Gate of Pilgrimage (Bab-i-Umra); (2) the Gate of Abraham; (3) The Báb-al-bida (the gate Farewell); and on the south side, (4) Bab-a-Maháni; (5) Bab Hakim-ul-Jadid; (6) Bab Sherif; (7) Bab-al-Akd; (8) Bab-al Safá; (9) Bab-al-Bagla; (10) Báb-al-Rab, also called the Bab-al-Naush; on the east side, (11) Bab Ali; (12) Bab Abbas; (13) Bab-al-Natr; (14) Bab-ul-Salams; and on the north side, (15) The Bab Dareba; (16) Bab Madrasa Sulemani; (17) Bab-al-Mahakma; (18) Bab-al-Ziyada; (19) Bab Kutbi; (20) Bab Basti; (21) Bab Madrasa Zamaniah; (22) Bab-Atik.

The well of Zam-Zam is inside the sacred precincts, and the water of it is brackish; although thousands of buckets of water, both night and day, are drawn out of it, the supply never diminshes in any season. This water is carried far way on account of its being holy; people drink it standing; its use for pouring over the body and for washing the hands and face is allowable, but for meaner purposes it is prohibited.

In the four quarters of the blessed Mecca, the prayers of the four doctrines are used. There are four pulpits: the *Hanafi*, *Shafai*, *Malik*, and *Janbali* pulpits were built

in the time of the Abbaside Caliphs. Originally there used to be but one doctrine. The present building over the Kaaba was built by Amad Hajjaj bin Yusuf Shakfi. The Makam of Abraham is opposite to the chamber of the Kaaba, and extra prayers are recited there after the Toaf. The pulpit is ascended every Friday and on the Ede-ul-Fitr by the priest, and the Khutba* is recited therefrom.

The Library contains many thousand volumes on every subject arranged on bookshelves. It is frequently visited by learned men, who sit and study there, but are not allowed to remove the books.

The clock-house contains a collection of beautiful clocks and watches of every description of Turkish and European manufacture, and those skilled therein sit there and find out the exact time for prayers, this is a heresy which has sprung up in these later times. There are 152 gilt minarets surmounting the walls of the Haram.

The to'af, the blackstone, which stands in the corner of the chamber of the Kaaba, is kissed by the pilgrim, who then walks seven times round the building. This makes one Toaf, each separate circum-ambulation is called a Shawat. Rakan Yamani is a corner of the chamber of the Kaaba, which the pilgrims touch with their hands, which they then kiss.

Round the Hatim is an enclosing wall of marble shaped like a bow; this used to be part of the Kaabah, but is now separate. Here extra prayers are read, and certain people here put on the pilgrim's garb and go hence to the Hajj at Arafát. Mizah Rahmat is the name of a spout through which rain-water from the roof of the mausoleum is carried, and falls into the Hatim, the mouth of the spout is of gold. Every year on the 10th Muharram all the male population, and on the 11th Ramzan all the women, congregate in the chamber of the tomb from early morning till 9 A. M. On the 12th Rabi-ul-awal and the first Friday in the month

* Kutba, an oration in praise of Muhammad, his successors and the reigning sovereign. *Vide* Forbes' Hindustani Dictionary.

Rajab and on the 27th Rajab and on the 15th Shaban and the first Friday in Ramzan and on the 27th and 15th of Zikat only men are allowed to enter the Kaaba, and separate dates are appointed for women. Every year three times, on the 20th Rabi-ul-awal, 20th Zikat, 12th Muharram, the Sherif and Pasha in person and the Shebi who keeps the keys of the Kaaba with two or three attendants wash the Kaaba twice with water, and a third time with rose water, and rub the walls and doors with sandal wood powder and attar of roses. This is not enjoined by the sacred writings but is done for the sake of cleanliness. Every year on the 25th Zikat the covering of God's seat is lifted from the ground to the height of a man and a white cloth is tied to it, and the common people call this the Ahram of the Kaaba. The total number of servants of the sacred precincts is 260, and there are 22 gateways, 12 large domes, 172 gold minarets, and the expenses of the Kaaba amount to 30 lakhs of Turkish rupees annually.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE SECOND JOURNEY TO AKBARABAD, A TOUR TO VARIOUS CITIES, AND THE DEMISE OF MY SAINTED MOTHER, NOW IN HEAVEN.

Colonel Richard John Meade, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, addressed my revered mother from Indore by letter, dated the 14th August 1866, to the effect that the Viceroy and Governor-General, the Grand Master of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, had informed him of his intention of holding a Durbar at Agra on the 10th of November, and that the investiture of certain Knights of the above Order would take place at the same time; that Her Highness was also invited to attend, and that to meet the Viceroy in such a Durbar was an honour; further that for Her Highness to take part in the Durbar in her character of Grand Commander of the Order, with the Grand Master of the Order was most appropriate and befitting. A reply to this was sent, that

she would with pleasure attend the Durbar, and then, according to custom, in concert with Major Osborne, C. B., Political Agent at Sehore, she made preparations for going to Agra. On the 19th of Jamadi-ul-awal 1283 A.H., her advanced tents were despatched, and she herself followed on the 21st attended by the officer's of State and her relatives.

Agra was reached on the 21st of Jamadi-ul-Akhir. On the 2nd Rajab, corresponding with the 10th of November, on Saturday evening, the Governor-General arrived by rail from Calcutta, and on the 12th he met each Chief separately in private Durbar, and invited all the Chiefs to a public Durbar on the 19th of November. When all the Chiefs had assembled, the Governor-General himself entered, and, addressing himself to all the Chiefs, spoke as follows :*—" Maharajas, Rajas and Sirdars,—It is with great satisfaction that I see you all assembled before me this day. I bid you all a hearty welcome to this famous city renowned for its splendid Taj; and, above all, as having been in former days the seat of Government of the Great Emperor from whom it derives its name Akbarábád.

It is good for us thus to meet together: it is advantageous for me, as the Viceroy of the illustrious Queen of England and India to see and become acquainted with so many Chiefs of rank and reputation : and for you all, it is right that you should be able to speak face to face with me, and hear my views and wishes regarding the management of your respective territories.

The art of governing wisely and well is a difficult one, which is only to be attained by much thought, and care and labour. Few Kings and Chiefs in Hindustan have possessed the necessary qualifications because they have not taken the precaution, in their youth, to learn, to study, and to act for themselves; nor did they care to have their sons, those who were to succeed them, well instructed and carefully trained. Hence it has so often happened, that after

* Note—Vide *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, November 29th, 1866.

a Chief has passed away, he has not been remembered as a good and wise Ruler. Great men, when living, often receive praise from their friends and adherents for virtues which they do not possess; but it is only after this life is ended, that the real truth is told. Of all fame that such men can acquire, that alone is worth having which is accorded to a just and beneficent Ruler. The names of conquerors and heroes are forgotten, but those of virtuous and wise Chiefs live for ever.

The days of war and rapine, it is to be hoped, have passed away from Hindustan, never to return. But perhaps some of the Chiefs now present can recollect the time in India, and all must have heard of the times, when neither the Palace of the Ruler nor the cottage of the peasant, nor the most sacred edifices of Hindu and Muhammadan, were safe from the hands of the plunderer and destroyer. In those days whole provinces were one scene of devastation and misery; and in vast tracts of country scarcely the light of a lamp was to be seen in a single village. English rule in India has put all this down. No longer is the country a waste and a wilderness, the abode of savage animals. Now it is to a great extent covered with populous villages, and rich with cultivation, and all the inhabitants are living in comparative safety under the shade of English power.

But while such no doubt, to a great extent, is a true picture of the state of India, still when we enquire closely into the condition of different parts of the country, we cannot but perceive that much tyranny and oppression are still practised: that much individual suffering still exists: and that much crime escapes unpunished. That peace and security from outward violence which the British Government confers on your territories, you must extend to your people. None but the Rulers of their own lands can accomplish this; and they only can do it by constant care and supervision. They have plenty of time to do all that is necessary, if they have only the will. Chiefs have

*abundant time for their own pleasure and amusement,* indeed many of them have more leisure than they can employ; and are often weary from want of something to interest them. Others again waste their time in disputes with their neighbours, in quarrels with their feudatories, and even in still less satisfactory ways.

If a Chief will neglect his own proper duty, the care of his State, how can he expect that a deputy will perform it properly for him? Good laws and well selected officials, carefully supervised, are necessary to insure good government. An efficient Police and a well-managed revenue are equally desirable, so that people may live in safety and enjoy the fruits of their industry. Schools for the education of the young, and hospitals for the care of the sick, should also be established. Some Chiefs are perhaps in debt, and would find it difficult to do much in the way I have sketched. But other Chiefs have abundant revenues; and all I ask is that every Ruler should act according to his means. Some among you vie with each other for precedence and feel aggrieved at the position you occupy. How much to the purpose it would be, if all would try who can govern his country in the wisest manner; in this way there is abundance of scope for all.

The British Government will honour that Chief most who excels in the good management of his people; who does most to put down crime and improve the condition of his country. There are Chiefs in this Durbar who have acquired a reputation in this way. I may mention Maharajah Scindia and the Begam of Bhopal. The death of the late Nawab Ghaus Khan of Jowrah was a cause of grief to me, for I have heard that he was a wise and beneficent Ruler. The Rajah of Seetamow in Malwa is now ninety years old, and yet it is said that he manages his country very well. The Rajah of Khetri in Jaipur has been publicly honoured for the wise arrangements he has made in his lands. It is to me a very great pleasure, when I hear of the meritorious conduct of any Chief, and I try and

make this known, so as to encourage other Rulers to follow his example.

Kings and Chiefs in former times had no idea of opening out their countries. They often lived in difficult and almost inaccessible positions, surrounding their palaces with all kinds of fortifications, out of which they seldom ventured to any distance, and then only when attended by as many soldiers and armed followers as they could muster. As to travelling to see the wonders of other countries such an idea never entered their minds, or if it did, it was dismissed as utterly impracticable. Now the Princes of Hindustan have little hesitation in moving from one place to another at a distance from their own territories, and some Chiefs have become so enlightened and far-seeing as to be willing to have roads made through the length and breadth of their lands and some have contributed annually considerable sums for this purpose. I hope that others will follow their example, and do all they can to construct roads, canals, and wells in their country, thus enriching themselves and their people.

I will now conclude by wishing you all again a welcome to Agra, and trust that what you will have seen and heard, and the general reception you have received, may make you long remember this Durbar. I have but one object, namely, that you should try and govern your people well and thus conduce to your own good name and their happiness."

The Durbar then broke up and on Thursday, the 22nd of November 1866, the Governor-General left Akbarabad for Gwalior, and the Chiefs all left for their respective States. On the 15th Rajab, corresponding with the 23rd of November, my sainted mother went by rail to see the city of Shahjahanabad and on the 23rd (Rajab) returned to Agra; and on the 26th visited Fatehpur Sikri which she left on the 30th for Bhartpúr; and after spending the 2nd Shaban at Deeg, the 4th at Goberdhan, the 7th at Muttra, returned to Agra on the 10th Shaban, whence she marched

on the 17th reaching Dholpur on the 19th and Gwalior on the 23rd, Duttia on the 29th, and the city of Jhansi on the 2nd Ramzan, the town of Sewans in Bhopal territory on the 20th, and on the 3rd Shawal, corresponding with the 9th of February 1867 safely returned to Bhopal.

In this journey the expenses were more than ordinarily heavy; the nazar to the Governor-General cost Rs. 27,135-0-9 and the travelling expenses amounted to Rs. 75,070-0-3, making a total of Rs. 1,02,205-1-0.

Fatehpur is 12 coss (24 miles) from Agra and 25 (50 miles) from Deeg which is 6 coss (12 miles) from Goberdhan. The following is a short account of these places. The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri which are of stone and very fine, are the work of the Emperor Akbar. Within the Fort there is a stone mosque, in the courtyard of which is the tomb of Salim Chishti containing a lattice work screen in marble of great delicacy and beauty; inside the mausoleum there are mosaics in mother-of-pearl. In the courtyard there is a reservoir for water; and on the south of the courtyard a large and lofty gateway from the top of which the Taj at Agra can be seen. There is also another reservoir of water outside the gate. There are also many other buildings of Akbar's Court besides the above, for instance, the house of Rajah Birbal and others, which are now uncared for and in ruins; there are many runnels for water and many reservoirs. The following lines are carved on the mosque and tomb: "In the reign of the Emperor Akbar who brought his dominions to prosperity, Shaikh-ul-Islam built this mosque which for beauty rivals the Kaabah, the year of the completion of this lofty building saw arise a second Majid-ul-haram."

"Advocate of the faith and Holy Guide Shaikh Salím whose goodness and holiness is Janed and Taifur, he illuminates as a shining light the family of Chisht, he is the most dearly beloved son of Farídganj Shakar, Let not thine eyes be double. Think not of thyself, but be steadfast to

God, so the year of his passing away will be known throughout all ages."*

Deeg is in the country of the Rajah of Bhartpur, its buildings of stone and gay flower gardens are very picturesque. There is one building of white marble to which hundreds of fountains are attached, the reservoir to feed the fountains is a large tank with wells at each of the four corners, from which the water is drawn to fill the reservoir. When all the fountains are at play, the sun's rays shining through the water make an arch like a rainbow. The buildings of this place are worth seeing but are in the Hindu style. The roofs are low and the rooms gloomy.

Goberdhan is the name of a hill to accomplish the circuit of which is an act of great piety according to the Hindu religion. There is a road round the hill, some Hindus perform the circuit at a foot's pace, others measure their length on the ground round it, others with their hands clasped in devotion. There is a small masonry tank on this hill, on the banks of which is an upright stone fixed in the earth about the height of a man, which is considered to be the top† knot of the hill, and is an object of worship.

After her return from this journey and tour, the health of my revered mother began to fail; she was attacked by disease of the kidneys, and notwithstanding that she was put under the care of both "Yunani"‡ practitioners and English doctors she got no better, but the disease gained on her. She suffered from great weakness, her vital heat failed and at length she passed away from this transitory world after Vespers on the 13th of the month Rajab 1285 A.H., at the age of 51 years 8 months and 15

* In the Persian, the date is given by one of the words, the letters of which, combined as numerals, give the year of his death by the Hijra era.

† Chutia is the lock of hair on the crown of the head which all Hindus allow to grow to its full length.

‡ Yunan—Persian name of Greece.

days, and next morning at 8 o'clock she was buried in the Farhat Afzá garden, which she herself had laid out. In pursuance of the provisions of her will that her burial should be strictly in accordance with the true faith, no dome was built over her grave, which was enclosed by a screen of white marble. Her Majesty the Queen sent her condolences, and congratulations on my accession were also received by me from England, and I felt much honoured thereby.

My revered mother upheld in perfect good faith the nobles of the State in possession of their estates, she promoted the loyal with dignities and titles and treated all the members of our family with great affection. With great foresight she introduced the practice of entering the words "for life only" into her grants instead of the words "from generation to generation" which had hitherto been entered in all such documents. It is a happy coincidence that the year in which my revered mother departed this life witnessed the demise of many celebrated men of learning such as Asad-allah Khan "Ghalib" (poet) of Delhi, who recalled the times of Arfi and Naziri, he died on the second of Zikat of this year, also Afzal ud Daulah, Thaniyat Ali Khan, Nawab of Haidarabad in the Deccan, who in the flower of his youth on the 14th of the same month and year departed this transitory life for eternity.

# PART III.

## CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THIS SUPPLIANT AT THE THRESHOLD OF GOD, FROM THE DAY OF HER BIRTH TO HER ACCESSION, AND A NARRATIVE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE UP TO THE END OF HER TOUR IN THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE STATE OF BHOPAL.

I was born on the 6th of the month Jamadi-al-awali 1254 A.H., and 1245 Fasli, corresponding with the 20th of July 1838 A.D., in the Fort of Islamnagar, and was set upon the throne of the State of Bhopal on the 15th of Muharram 1263 A.H., and 1254 Fasli, corresponding with the 4th of January 1847 A.D. On the 9th of Jamadi-ul-awali of this year corresponding with the 25th of April, Sunday, my mother celebrated the occasion of my ears being pierced with great rejoicings. On the 15th of Rajab 1266 A.H., and 1256 Faslí, corresponding with the 24th May 1850, the day being Friday, magnificent festivities were held at a vast expense in honour of my having read the Korán through to the end. I read the usual Persian reading books and acquired a knowledge of reading, writing, accounts and the conduct of State affairs.

On the 11th of Zikat 1271 A.H., and 1262 Fasli corresponding with the 26th of July 1855 A.D., my marriage took place as has been related in the second chapter of the second part, and on the 27th Zikat 1274 A.H. and 1265 Fasli, corresponding with the 9th July 1858, I gave birth to the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, and on the 9th Shawal 1276 A.H., answering to the 1st of May 1860, I voluntarily resigned the title of Ruler to my mother and became her heir-apparent as has been related in the second chapter of Part Second. On the 12th Jamadi-al-awali 1277 A.H., I gave birth to my second

daughter the Suleman Jahan Begam who died on the 13th Muharram 1282 A.H., her tomb is in the Nur Bagh, and the Sulemani school and mosque called after her name will be mementos of her in this State.

On the 21st Safar 1284 A.H., occurred the death of Nawáb Báki Muhammad Khan, my husband. He fell ill while at Mecca, and returned to Bhopal in the height of his illness; notwithstanding his treatment under the Yunani and English system of medicine he obtained no relief; after his death he was buried in his own garden. On the 13th Rajab 1285 A.H., my revered mother passed away, as has been related in the 8th Chapter of Part II. After her departure to Paradise, all the business of the State was suspended for three days, according to custom, and the prescribed lamentations were performed. Great regret was expressed by the British officers. In the towns of Sehore the seat of the Political Agency, and of Indore, of the Agency to the Governor-General, all the forms of public mourning observed by European nations were gone through, such as closing the shops and offices, &c. Inasmuch as this day must at some time be undergone by every living being, and resignation to the will of God is our refuge, therefore after waiting the above interval, on the 17th Rajab of the same year, the ordinary administration of the affairs of the State was undertaken by me.

On Tuesday the 1st of Shaban 1285 A.H., corresponding with the 16th November 1868 A.D., Colonel Osborne C.B., Political Agent of Bhopal, and Colonel Meade, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, honoured Bhopal with their presence, and at 7 o'clock in the morning proceeded to invest me as Ruler, delivering to me on behalf of His Lordship the Governor-General a letter acknowledging me as Chief, and my daughter the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam as Heir-apparent. The artillery fired a salute; the officers of State and members of my family presented me with "Nazars" and I and the Heir-apparent both delivered speeches in Durbar. The English gentlemen offered me many kind and

gracious congratulations on the occasion. They published in Bhopal a proclamation announcing my accession, after which they took leave and departed for Sehore and Indore respectively. The following is the speech delivered in Durbar by me: "First and foremost I render thanks to my God, that I am the daughter of the Nawab Sikandar Begam, Ruler of Bhopal, who was proved by the English Government faithful, staunch, far-seeing and of great capacity for administration. Secondly I return thanks to my Sovereign the Great Queen Victoria, Queen of Hindustan and England and to her Ministers for the great favours shown to my mother the Sikandar Begam, first in placing her on the throne of her father Nazir-ud-daula Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan and making her Ruler; secondly in increasing her dignity, when her loyalty and fidelity had stood the test of trial, by granting her the Pargana of Bairesia, conferring upon her the Star of India and raising her to a first class feudatory Chief. Thirdly in the complimentary notice by the Viceroy of the merits of her administration and the active part she herself took in promoting the welfare of her subjects. In the Durbar at Agra in the presence of the most renowned Chiefs of India there assembled, the Viceroy called attention to her administration as an example to be followed, and honoured her more than the other Chiefs. Now after her death the Viceroy has appointed me to succeed her.

"I thank Colonel Meade, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, for acceding to my request by honouring Bhopal with his presence and for investing me as Ruler, and acknowledging my daughter as Heir-apparent in the same manner that Sir Richmond Shakespear invested my mother as Ruler and me as Heir-apparent. I also thank Colonel Osborne, Political Agent in Bhopal, for the unremitting attention which he paid to the Nawab Sikandar Begam during her illness in obtaining the best advice for her, also because after her death he lost no time in reporting the occurrence to the Supreme Government according

to precedent, and I thank him for continuing to me the support and countenance which he always showed to the Sikandar Begam, and for maintaining at my accession the same ceremonies which were observed at that of my late mother. I shall be mindful of the great kindness shown by my Sovereign and these her servants to the end of my days, and I now pray to the merciful God that my whole life may be spent like my mother's in loyalty to the English Government, in improving the administration of the state of Bhopal and ameliorating the condition of my subjects."

The following is the speech of the Light of my Eyes, the Sultan Jahan Begam favoured of fortune, may her days be long! "Thanks be to God who of his exceeding great kindness has advanced me to this dignity, and I thank His Lordship the Governor-General and the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and the Political Agent of Bhopal who have appointed me Heir-apparent and my mother Ruler of Bhopal: I trust that the merciful God will keep me loyal to the British Government during the whole of my life."

This is a copy of the Proclamation which was promulgated by Colonel R. J. Meade, C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to all subjects and nobles of the State of Bhopal:—

"To all whom it may concern, be it known, that the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, after the death of her beloved father, the Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, was, on the 4th December 1846 A.D., with the sanction of the Government of India, proclaimed Ruler of the State of Bhopal, and her mother, the Nawab Sikandar Begam, was appointed Regent during her minority; and when the Nawab Shahjahan Begam attained her majority on the 20th July 1859, Major Hutchinson, the Political Agent of Bhopal at that time, was instructed to enquire of her whether she wished to take the direction of affairs into her own hands or no, to which she replied that she surrendered of her own free

will the supreme authority to the Nawab Sikandar Begam for her life; subsequently she addressed a letter *pro formâ* on the 13th of December 1859, to Sir Richmond Shakespear, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, that it was proper for the British Government to grant the Nawab Sikandar Begam two boons, *viz.*, the dignity of Regent and the authority of Ruler. Accordingly the purport of this letter was communicated to Government, and His Excellency the Governor-General instructed his Agent for Central India to publish to the people, officers, and nobles of Bhopal, that the Nawab Sikandar Begam was recognised as Ruler during her lifetime, and the Nawab Shahjahan Begam as her Heir-apparent and the succession was confirmed to her issue, and the English Government pledged itself to uphold this arrangement, therefore a proclamation to this effect was issued from the office of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India on the 17th December 1859 A.D., and the Nawab Sikandar Begam according to the written agreement of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, with the sanction of Government, was made Ruler of the State of Bhopal on the 1st of May 1860, and remained Ruler with a high character for justice and administration up to the day of her death. Now, whereas on the 30th October of this year, the Nawab Sikandar Begam departed from this transitory life to eternity as had been reported to Government, and Government has a second time sanctioned the appointment of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam as the rightful Ruler of Bhopal, and her daughter the Sultan Jahan Begam as her Heir-apparent, with succession to her issue, therefore the Nawab Shahjahan Begam has this day, in a public Durbar of her officers, chiefs, nobles, relatives and officers of State, in the presence of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, the Political Agent in Bhopal, and other gentlemen of rank, taken her seat upon the "Masnad" of the State of Bhopal, and the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam has been appointed Heir-apparent thereto; and by means of this Proclamation all the subjects, nobles,

relatives, jaghirdars and officers of the State of Bhopal are informed hereof and all people are warned to acknowledge the Nawab Shahjahan Begam as their constituted Ruler, and to render her a true and hearty obedience with all readiness, loyalty, and zeal."

After the ceremonies attending my accession were over, I took upon myself all the daily administrative and executive functions of Government. In the month of Ramzan I performed the customary fast and prayers. In the month of Shawal, I entertained the English visitors and the nobles my friends and relations in the State in honour of my accession. It is superfluous to enter into a detailed description of the festivities.

I next looked over the treasury, and counted the jewels and robes of my revered mother's "Toshakhana."* Set jewels to the value of Rs. 72,955-5-9, which my mother had selected and caused to be put away in her wardrobe, but the price of which had not been agreed upon owing to her failing health, were returned by me, as their purchase did not appear to me to be necessary, and with regard to the debt on my mother's private estate amounting to Rs. 1,25,688-9-3, and state debt of Rs. 5,52,752-11-3, making a total of Rs. 6,78,471-4-6, arrangements were made for paying off the amount by instalments. In the present year, 1289 A.H., by God's blessing, the debt has been paid off.

Petitions, letters, and reports in revenue, civil, criminal cases, and reports from the Vakil's office, Commissioners of Divisions and District offices, and the Customs offices of Bhopal had accumulated to the number of 4,086 in the fourteen years preceding the late Begam's death, consequent on Her Highness' inability to attend to them from

* "Toshakhana" is an untranslatable word familiar to all persons in India. Each native State and the Foreign Office of the Government of India has a toshakhana, where stores of costly robes, jewellery, trappings, and housings are kept. It is from such stores that "Khilats" are given, and State processions are provided by Native States.

want of time, through her travels in Hindustan, her pilgrimages to Mecca, and from ill-health. Suitors in consequence were clamorous for justice. I therefore heard each petition one by one, and by God's help passed final orders on them, besides disposing of the cases which had been referred to the Councils in the late Begam's reign.

Whereas there were many complaints that cases of long standing were lying undecided in the various courts, I caused lists to be prepared of pending cases in the courts of the first and second Ministers and the Commissioners of the three Divisions, and the Customs and Judicial officers, from which it was ascertained that 16,631 cases remained undisposed of. These longstanding cases were referred for enquiry and decision to the Heads of the respective Offices to which they belonged, and a suitable term was fixed within which the incomplete cases were to be finished, and if within the competence of the Head of the Office he was to decide them; but if they exceeded his jurisdiction they were to be sent to my Court for disposal, and subsequently in consideration of the great number of cases of long standing in some of the Offices, an extra establishment was entertained for their disposal.

The poorer inhabitants of the city of Bhopal had long complained of the dearness of corn; the cause of which appeared to be that, although in former times and up to the early days of the Sikandar Begam's reign, plenty of corn used to be brought into Bhopal and sold there by the zemindars, yet on the establishment of the rule that a remission of half the tax should be made on all corn purchased for the use of British cantonments, &c., while no remission was made on corn brought to Bhopal for sale, a much smaller quantity was imported into the city on account of the full tax being enforced, and corn was always dear in the city. I thought this unfair to my subjects and unjust that foreigners should be allowed to profit by the reduction of the tax, while my own subjects of Bhopal were burdened with the full impost; accordingly on the 10th February

1869, corresponding with the 27th of Shawal 1285 A.H., orders were issued to the chief customs officer, that whereas the inhabitants of Bhopal were more worthy of consideration than foreigners, therefore, with the view of ameliorating the condition of the people, the tax on grain, gram, &c., imported from other parts of Bhopal into the city, should cease to be levied from the 1st Muharram 1286 A.H., corresponding with the 14th of April 1869.

The Cavalry and Infantry whose uniforms are red, and the troops of black-coated cavalry attached to the offices of the First Minister and the Vakil, had long complained that their duties, and expenses in maintaining their horses and uniforms, were heavier than those of the forces employed in the country, though they received the same pay, accordingly, from the 1st Muharram 1286 A.H., their pay was raised by the sum of Rs. 18,780 distributed proportionately over the different ranks.

From one cause or another, the late Begam had not visited her provinces for eighteen years, and the peasantry and other inhabitants of the interior were loud in their complaints of the oppression of the tax-collectors; charges of their corruption and extortion were repeatedly coming to our ears, it was necessary to relieve our oppressed subjects and to inflict a well-merited punishment on unjust officials, therefore notwithstanding that the cold weather had come to an end and the season for travelling had passed, I left Bhopal on Saturday the last day of Shawal, corresponding with the 18th February 1869, for a progress through my southern provinces, which comprise eight sub-divisions, of which Chipanir was the first visited.

*A narrative of my tour in the southern division.*—On our arrival at the above town on the 4th of Zikat 1285 A.H., corresponding with the 18th February, the village headmen, notaries, feoffees and grantees, bankers and village watchmen being collected, a proclamation, as follows, was read to the crowd assembled:—It is seventeen years since this province was visited by the Ruler, although every year the

Commissioner, and every third year the Deputy of the First Minister comes here. I have now determined that any wrong and oppression suffered by you during this time at the hands of any official of this State, whether high or low, shall, after enquiry made, be redressed, and the wrong-doers be adequately punished for their corruption and bribery; therefore whoever has been aggrieved in any way by Tahsildars or thanadars, past or present, or their subordinates, or by the Commissioners and their officials, or by the First Minister's Deputies and their underlings, or by the Customs officers of all grades and their subordinates, let him come forward without fear and lodge his complaint, the allegations of tyranny and oppression on the part of the servants of the State shall be fully enquired into in our own presence, and if you are still so afraid of these officials as not to make a true disclosure, which should subsequently be brought to light, then, on proof being forthcoming, both the corrupt official and you who have screened his guilt shall alike receive punishment.

And the second proclamation was as follows:—Let all persons from whom demands unauthorized by the State, such as fees* on marriages, &c., have been exacted by collectors past or present, and by former or present Thanadars, come forward and declare them that the exactors may be punished and restitution may be made.

And the third proclamation was to this effect, that should any servant or official of the State of Bhopal take a bribe, and information of this be given to the ruler, then, on the bribe being proved, adequate punishment shall be meted out to the offender, and even if the offence be not proved, the informer shall not be punished.

After this a general examination was made of all the subordinates in the Tahsils, thanas, and rural police

* Fees on second marriage of Hindu women are still levied in some of the Hindu principalities. This tax appears to be of great antiquity, and mention of it is found in Malcolm's Central India.

outposts, and my custom's Departments; and such as were incompetent or physically unfit, or had been detected in any crime, were discharged, and others appointed in their places; such sepoys and clerks whose descriptive rolls had been omitted by the negligence of the collectors; but who had performed their prescribed duties, were enrolled up to the prescribed numbers; the subordinates in the land Revenue, Police and Customs Department in Chipanir were required to take the oath of allegiance in the same way as the clerks and writers of the city of Bhopal. The Revenue, Police and Customs offices of Chipanir were examined, and written directions were drawn up to remedy such defects as were observed.

Next, enquiries were made in my own presence into the petition of those applicants in the district who had brought charges of bribery on the part of officials, or embezzlement of Government revenue or extortion on the part of the farmers, and orders for punishment were passed on some during my tour, but those which required a more prolonged investigation were postponed till my return to Bhopal. The petitions relating to Civil, Criminal, and Revenue cases were referred, according to the ordinary procedure, to the Collectors, Police Officers, Commissioners, Customs officers and to the First Minister; and all monies extorted by collectors and farmers were restored to the cultivators.

The weights used for weighing corn and other goods were tested and reduced to a uniform standard.

Orders were given for building and repairing courts, thanas, revenue and customs offices where necessary, also for planting encamping grounds with trees for shade and shelter to travellers.

The Parganas of Baironda, Murdanpur, Chechli, Bari, Bareli and Udepura were next visited, and in the latter district the excess which had been extorted by the lumbardars over and above the rents which had been fixed by the State, were refunded to the tillers of the soil, besides

which fines were inflicted. After visiting Chandpura and the Fort of Chokigarh, we went to the town of Kaliakheri, the head-quarters of the southern Division, and in every district visited, the procedure adopted at Chipanir was followed, and on the 27th Muharram we returned in safety to Bhopal.

In this tour, through eight districts of the southern division, 4360 complaints were gone into, orders passed, and a complete report of the tour drawn up, a copy of which, according to the established practice, was forwarded for the information of the Political Agent of Bhopal.

On the 27th Jamadi-ul-akhir 1286 A.H., corresponding with the 4th of October 1869. Colonel Edward Thompson, Officiating Political Agent of Bhopal, sent me a kharita to the following effects :—" A report of your good management and ability, your excellent administration of the State, with the zeal and energy shown in your braving the extreme heat of summer and the noxious hot winds, to improve your administration and to promote the comfort of your subjects, was forwarded by me, together with a translation of the narrative of your tour in the South, and your proceedings for bettering the condition of your people, through the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India to the Supreme Government. In reply to this a letter has been received from the Secretary to the Government of India, of the date of September 21st, addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to the effect that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has perused with great satisfaction and interest the report, in which has been described the wise zeal and energy of Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal in extirpating the corruption &c., of ill-disposed collectors and carrying out new and beneficial reforms. The details show conclusively that Her Highness is determined to emulate her mother to govern her State in a liberal and enlightened spirit, to discountenance fraud and oppression, and to adopt measures which shall aim at the welfare and

prosperity of all classes of her subjects. The course taken by Her Highness, in this view, would, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, reflect credit on the administration of old and experienced Rulers of States. His Excellency in Council will have much pleasure in giving publicity to Her Highness' memorandum, and in transmitting copies thereof at an early date for the perusal of the Secretary of State."

"It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I send you a copy and translation of the above letter, which is the strongest proof of your appreciation by the Government of India and the best evidence of your worth and ability, and I beg to add that the approbation of His Excellency the Governor-General of India and the widespread reputation of your Highness for good administrative ability, is a direct reward of those hearty labours undergone by your Highness for the welfare of your State. I feel assured that the praises and commendation of the British Government for your enlightened measures, will afford a pleasing incitement to you to continue in the same paths of progress and loyalty to the English Government, and that the Almighty God will increase your virtue and wisdom already known throughout the world."

Subsequently on the 6th Zikat 1286, or 7th February 1870, A.D., Colonel Ousely, Officiating Political Agent of Bhopal, informed me of a despatch received by His Excellency the Governor-General from His Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India to this effect: "It is gratifying to learn that Her Highness Shahjahan has already given proof of her desire to conduct the affairs of her State in the liberal and enlightened spirit which distinguished the late Sikandar Begam during a long course of years with such signal benefit to all classes of her subjects, and Her Majesty's Government concur in the sentiments of approval you requested to be conveyed to Her Highness Shahjahan at the salutary reforms she has effected in the Bhopal State."

## CHAPTER II.

CONTAINS A NOTICE OF THE RECEIPT OF A FIRMAN FROM HER GRACIOUS MAJESTY, AND THE NARRATION OF MY JOURNEY TO CALCUTTA, AND THE REPORT OF MY TOUR IN THE WESTERN DIVISION OF MY BHOPAL DOMINIONS, TOGETHER WITH A NOTICE OF THE REFORMS INTRODUCED.

ON the 2nd of September 1869 A.D., Colonel Edward Thompson, Officiating Political Agent in Bhopal, sent me a kharita,* in which was enclosed an English letter from the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, to my address. The letter is annexed—

TO HER HIGHNESS THE NAWAB SHAHJAHAN BEGAM OF BHOPAL.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I have received the commands of the Queen to communicate to your Highness the sincere regret with which Her Majesty has learnt the death of your mother, Her Highness the late Nawab Sikandar Begam of Bhopal, and to offer to you her affectionate condolence on this much lamented event. And I am at the same time to express to you Her Majesty's gracious assurance that she feels every confidence that your Highness will administer the country under your charge with the wisdom and benevolence which characterized the government of the illustrious Princess whom you have succeeded.

That your Highness may enjoy length of days and continued prosperity is the heartfelt desire of your Highness' sincere friend and well-wisher

ARGYLL.

*Dated* 31*st July* 1869.

I replied to the Secretary of State, and enclosed my

* The despatches of Native Princes are enclosed in a kincob bag the mouth of which is closed by a string, to which the State seal is attached. These despatches are called *Kharitas* which is the Hindustani for the bag, the older and more correct form is "khat kharita" the letter with the bag.

humble petition to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of Hindustan, and forwarded it enclosed in a kharita to the Political Agent. Subjoined is a copy of my petition:

My thanks are due to that Protector of the world who has caused the blessed commands of that Empress, Dispenser of justice, Friend of obedience, and Protector of the poor, to be communicated to me through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and the Officiating Political Agent of Bhopal. Although the accession of your humble servant and the acknowledgment of the Sultan Jahan as my heir have already been for some time ratified by the officers of State acting under your Royal commands, yet now these rights have acquired an additional sanction and solidity under your immediate commands, and by them I have been honoured and distinguished beyond my compeers. The late Nawab Sikandar Begam (now in Paradise), who, to her latest breath remained constant and steadfast in her fidelity to your Majesty and the English Government, has left me, your humble servant, and the Sultan Jahan Begam under the shadow of your Majesty's protection, I trust by God's help that I and my issue may equal and even surpass my mother in steadfast obedience and fidelity to your Majesty and the English Government, and that God may keep us successful participators in the light of your sublime glory.

Your humble servant, from the day of her accession to the present, has been occupied, as far as possible, in reforming the administration and bringing justice to God's creatures. Perhaps your Majesty may have seen the short report on the administration of the State and my former tour which was forwarded to His Excellency the Governor-General; and for the future likewise your humble servant will use her best endeavours to introduce wise reforms and

wise measures to improve the condition of her subjects and to continue loyal and true to the British Government.

Dated the 15th Jamadi-ul-akhir 1286 A.H., equal to September 22nd, 1869, A.D.

This is the purport of the letter to the Secretary of State:—I have had the honour to receive your letter worthy of obedience, dated the 31st of July 1869, which conveyed to me the gracious commands of Her Majesty the Queen, may her reign be for ever, in which the sincere regret and sorrow of Her Gracious Majesty is expressed at the death of my revered mother the Sikandar Begam. I feel greatly honoured by such gracious and Royal condescension which has singled me out to be the recipient of such favours and exalted me beyond my compeers. The toils, exertions, loyalty and integrity of my late mother have been rewarded in the eyes of the whole world, when regret at her death is expressed by the Empress of India and England and this comforting assurance has been held out to me as an encouragement to govern the people entrusted to my care with the same wisdom, singleness of purpose, close attention to business and fortitude, which, in the eyes of the British Government, brought such honour and renown to the late Nawab Sikandar Begam, whose successor I have been appointed. The whole of my energies are expended in compassing this end with greater diligence than hers. I pray to God that I, the Sultan Jahan Begam, and our successors, may be granted His guidance in preserving our integrity, honesty, loyalty to the British Government, and uprightness in dealing justice to our subjects and promoting reforms, the exhibition of which may cause every Ruler, each in his own time, to receive Imperial favors and the approbation of the English Government. Dated the 4th Shaaban 1286 A.H., equal to the 9th of November 1869 A.D.

In reply to the above, the Political Agent sent me a kharita to the effect, that my letter and petition had been forwarded to London by the Agent to the Governor-General

who, in reply, had received, through the Government of India, an English letter from the Secretary of State, dated London, 27th January 1870 A.D., in which he said that Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to accept the petition of the Begam of Bhopal, and the Secretary of State expressed his pleasure at the receipt of the letter to his address. A copy of the letter of the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and that of the Secretary of State, were forwarded with the kharita. The letter was as follows :—

INDIA OFFICE;
*London, January 27th, 1870.*

TO H. E. THE RIGHT HON. THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,—The letter of Your Excellency's Government in this Department, No. 386 of the 14th December 1869, encloses the reply which Her Highness the Shahjahan Begam of Bhopal has returned to the address of condolence, which by Her Majesty's commands I forwarded to Her Highness on the 6th of August last.

I desire that you will inform Her Highness that her address has been graciously received by the Queen, and that I have had much satisfaction in receiving the letter which Her Highness has sent to myself, and in reading the gratifying assurances which it contains.

I have, &c.,
ARGYLL.

The following are the titles and styles of address, heading, and conclusion in letters sent by this State to the Political Agents, Agents to the Governor-General for Central India, the Governor-General, the Duke of Edinburgh, Her Majesty the Queen, and the Secretary of State for India. Before my reign, no address had been sent to the Queen from this State. This practice was only instituted after my accession, owing to the high consideration shown to me by the British Government.

Complimentary and courtesy titles used in addressing Her Majesty Queen Victoria :—

To the Presence of the Powerful Sovereign, Protector of the Universe, Bestower of Crowns, the peerless Monarch Her Majesty the Empress of Great Britain and India, may she ever prosper. After performance of such obeisance and greeting as may be due from those admitted to the heavenly threshold of her Court. This prayer, &c.

*Conclusion.* As long as God on high, Almighty and Glorious, keeps the sun and moon employed in ministering to the wants of this globe, so long may He keep the world-wide shadow of Her Majesty's kindness spread over the heads of her devoted servants.

Complimentary and courtesy titles employed in addresses to the Duke of Edinburgh :—

To the exalted pillar of State, growing tree of the garden of sovereignty, apple of the kingdom's eye, His Royal Highness, may he prosper for ever! After the performance of due obeisance and greeting, and the observance of reverential formalities, it is submitted that, &c.

*Conclusion.* May God on high, Almighty and Glorious, ever keep the excellent and perfect shadow of this favoured Prince spread over the head of his sincere and humble servant.

Complimentary and courtesy titles of the Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Argyll :—

To the most excellent and noble, resplendent as the sun, pillar of pillars, the great Imperial Minister and Privy Councillor of Her Most Excellent Majesty the Queen, of sublime dignity, may his fortune last for ever. After fulfilling the ceremonies of greeting and the observance of reverential formalities, it is submitted to your liberal and enlightened mind, that, &c.

*Conclusion.* As long as the Almighty and Glorious keeps the sun and moon engaged in supplying the wants of the world, so long may He keep the shadow of His Excellency's kindness and good estimation spread over the heads of his faithful adherents.

Complimentary and courtesy titles of His Excellency the Governor-General. (Formerly, because the Nawab Kudsia Begam was only Regent, the State Officials deemed it proper that the Governor-General should be addressed by petition, and my late mother, during her regency, continued the practice, which she did not lay aside even after her recognition as Ruler in her own right. This custom was not required by courtesy, and was contrary to the usage of other chiefs of Hindustan, accordingly I purposed to address his Lordship by letter under the following titles.) To the great, merciful and benevolent gentleman, who lends a favourable ear to his suitors, may God preserve him! After the observance of greetings due from your sincere and humble friend, be it submitted that, &c.; and a despatch was sent to the Political Agent, requesting sanction for the above, to which a reply was received on the 22nd of June 1872, or 15th Rabi-ul-akhir 1289 A.H., to the effect, that my proposal had met with approval and had been sanctioned, and that in future the Governor-General might be addressed by letter.

Complimentary titles and conclusion used in letters addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India:—

To the kind friend who lends a favourable ear to his suitors, may God preserve him! After giving expression to the formalities of attachment and loyalty which are heartily desired by his sincere friends, be it known to his fragrant mind that, &c.

*Conclusion.* It is hoped that he may continue to afford happiness by sending friendly letters till a happy interview has been held with him, in which personal enquiries after his health can be made.

Complimentary titles used in addressing the Political Agent of Bhopal.

To the kind friend who lends a favourable ear to his friends, may God preserve him! After cementing the foundations of the lasting friendship as is essential to the

desires of firm friends, be it disclosed to his great mind that, &c.

*Conclusion.* It is hoped that he may continue to afford happiness by writing friendly letters till a happy interview has been held with him.

*A narrative of the journey to Calcutta.* On the 1st of December 1869 A.D. or the 26th Shaban 1286 A.H., Colonel Thompson, the Officiating Political Agent, in accordance with instructions from the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, wrote to the effect, that I was invited to attend the Durbars of the Governor-General and of the Duke of Edinburgh, and to be present by the 26th of the month. With the greatest pleasure I started from Bhopal on the 17th December or 14th Ramzan 1286 by post stages for Hoshungabad, and took rail at Nursingpur for Jabalpur, where I again took rail on the 23rd of December, ariving at Calcutta on the 25th of December. On the 29th December, or 25th Ramzan of the same year, I had the honor to pay my respects to the Prince and to the Governor-General, both of whom treated me with great consideration; and on the 31st of December I took part in the Chapter, held by the Prince, for the Star of India. Afterwards, on different days, these two exalted Personages honoured me with return visits at my residence, and visits were courteously interchanged with the Governors of Bombay and Madras and the Bishop of Calcutta and other gentlemen of distinction. The Theatre, Magazine in Fort William, the Citadel of of Calcutta, the Museum and Mint, were also visited by us. We also witnessed a review, and on the 14th of January 1870 A.D., or the 11th Shawal 1286 A.H., I paid a visit to the Steamer commanded by His Royal Highness, and at all the above places, the English Government caused me to be received with the full honours due to me.

In size and population, there is no city in India now-a-days which can compare with Calcutta. By the census taken this year, the population amounted to 450,040, and according to the "Pioneer," the total population of India

amounts to 240,100,000. According to the estimate of learned Europeans the population of Europe is 287,000,000, and of Asia 7,986,000,000, and of Africa 68,000,000, and of Australia 3,800,000, and of America 72,800,000; and thus in the whole world there are about 8,417,600,000 men, who speak about 3,600 different languages, and profess 1,000 different religions. The following is the distribution of religions as ascertained by the European Doctors:—Greek Church 2,800,000; Roman Catholics 195,000,000; Protestants 78,139,000; Muhammadans 120,000,000; Buddhists 340,000,000; other religions of Asia, 260,000,000; Idolators, 20,000,000; Jews 6,000,000.

This city is too well-known to require any description here. I left Calcutta on the 15th of January by rail, and reached Jabalpur on the 17th; and, on the 5th of February, or 3rd Zikat 1286 A.H., safely returned to Bhopal. The total expenditure on this journey, inclusive of purchases of some European goods and set jewels, &c., amounted to Rs. 1,87,900-11-9.

### SOME MENTION OF MY TOUR IN THE WESTERN DIVISION.

On the 26th of February 1870, or 24th Zikat 1286 A.H., I marched from Bhopal on my tour, and visited the Districts of Dilodh, Bairesia, Nazirabad, Debipura, Duraha and Sehore, at which last place the Political Agent and other gentlemen of distinction received me with the customary honours, held a review for me, and had the school examined in my presence. Thence I proceeded to Ashta, Jawar, and Sehawar, the estate of the widow of the Christian Hakim Shahzad Massi, and Shamsgarh, and returned to Bhopal on the 4th of June; or the 4th Rabi-al-awal 1287 A.H.

The procedure adopted on this tour was similar to that of my tour in the Southern Division. 3,101 petitions were presented, and punishments were inflicted, and refunds made according to circumstances. The work of the greatest importance was that out of a total of Rs. 1,02,156-1-6 arrears of revenue, Rs. 40,623-6-0 were realised, and measures were

taken for payment of the remainder by instalments. Orders were given for the construction of masonry wells for the convenience of travellers at the encamping grounds, and also for planting trees for shade. The jungles were found to be infested by tigers, notwithstanding a reward of Rs. 5 for each tiger. To remove this evil, the reward offered was raised to Rs. 20. All weights which were found to be too light were confiscated, and the shopkeepers were supplied with new weights from the Bhopal mint.

MENTION OF CERTAIN REFORMS.

For several years during the reign of the late Begam, half holidays were given on Fridays, although leave from midday admitted of the performance by the Officials, neither of their own private business nor of State affairs. Under the English Government, Sunday is the acknowledged holiday, in Muhammadan States, Friday, and among the Hindu Rajas, Saturdays are whole holidays; therefore Friday was made a whole holiday, and on those days which are set apart for religious observances among Muhammadans and Hindus on which half holidays used to be given, leave was granted for the whole day.

The inhabitants of the northern suburb of Bhopal had to go a great distance to fetch water, and travellers also were put to inconvenience. Therefore, in the year 1286 A.H., a long and massive dam of stone masonry was built near the Edegah, to the north of Bhopal, in a place in which the rainwater collected from the neighbouring hills, and the reservoir thus formed received the name of "Shahjahan." This has proved a great blessing to the inhabitants, and is now visited by the towns people as a place of recreation. The wall has been built 28 feet high so far, and the work is still proceeding.

To the east of this tank, Munshi Hosain Khan "Master"* has built another of smaller size, the water of which is used by animals, while the water of the former is reserved for man. Beyond this tank, and skirting the hill,

* He taught English to the Sultan Jahan Begam.

there is a wide and open plain, where it is proposed to place a suburb, and where, by God's blessing, there will shortly appear signs of habitation. The name of "Shahjahanabad" has been given to this place, and the Prince of Wales' school and several handsome buildings to keep the State stores will be built; besides rows of shops for the people and the principal customs offices of the State.

The example of the English was followed, and a troop of horse artillery was raised; the bullocks formerly used for draught being discarded. I also introduced a military band into the army.

It is the custom in the Bhopal State, on every accession of a ruler for the coinage to be changed; and in pursuance of this rule, the former copper coins were called in, and new ones were issued; but the weight and value of the coins were not changed from the late Begam's standard. These coins bear the words quarter annas and the letter "Sh" with the distinguishing marks and the year of the Hejira stamped on them, and were first issued on the 1st Shawal 1286 A.H. The silver of the Bhopal rupee used to be hard, and the weight something less than that of the English rupee, therefore its value in the market was slightly less than the Jaipur, Indore, Kota and Tonk rupees. On this account, it was determined to issue a coin of pure silver of the same value as the English rupee, and the inscriptions of the former rupees, on one side of which the words "coined at Bhopal," and on the reverse, the year of the Hejira used to be stamped, were altered.

The Gunnur jungle in Bhopal territory is a large forest in which trees grow large enough for building purposes, but they used to be cut and taken away in great numbers by foreigners from across the Narbada, who paid nothing for them beyond a tax of one rupee for each cart; I therefore caused this jungle to be surveyed and posts to be erected; appointed a forest superintendent with clerks, overseers, chainmen and watchmen; compiled a set

of rules for this forest, and organised a Forest Department as an additional source of revenue to the State.

On the 1st of Ramzan 1287 A.H., or 25th of November 1870, at the suggestion of the Political Agent, I set aside the sum of Rs. 600 as an annual subscription to the Sehore Dispensary.

On account of the mistakes in measurement in the Bhopal territories, owing to the old chain in use during the time of the late Begam, according to which measurement, a settlement for fifteen years had been made, I thought it expedient to introduce measurement by plane table. I therefore invited surveyors from British territory, and set them to work in the three divisions to the number of 126, the pay of whom amounted to Rs. 19,776 per annum. By the last day of Shaban 1277 A.H., two whole parganas and half of two other parganas had been surveyed, and this survey showed an increase of 54,811 bigahs 12 biswas of land over the former survey; according to the following details, Half Pargana Chatri: in the Southern Division, 23,094 bigahs 3 biswas. Half of the Pargana Dewari in the Eastern Division, 11,193 bigahs 19 biswas. Pargana Silwani in the Eastern Division, 4,881 bigahs 5 biswas. Pargana Jethari, Eastern Division, 15,642 bigahs 5 biswas. Orders were also issued for the measurement of rent-free villages, and according to the rules in British territory, orders were given to the Patwaris to learn to survey by plane table.

Formerly, in the time of the late Begam, there were three kinds of irrigated soil, each of which was divided into three descriptions; and also three kinds of unirrigated soil, *viz.*, Moran, Kabar, Sujar, and three descriptions of each kinds in all eighteen classification of soils. The rates of revenue per bigah on these different classifications of soil were so various, that in every single village the rates varied according to no fixed rule; and in the rates of level, uneven or hilly villages, no abatement was made in the latter,—a state of things which

was tedious and vexatious, as well as detrimental to the interests both of subject and ruler.

The division into six classifications of soil was now adopted, being three kinds of irrigated and three of unirrigated land; and in every subdivision, the village lands were divided into level, hilly, uneven, and sterile tracts, and whenever from a variety of causes the assessment of the former settlement had pressed too heavily, the excess was cancelled, and an entirely new settlement, according to present average rates, was made. In order further to favour the tenants, each class of former cultivators was divided into three classes—1st, 2nd and 3rd, the average rate of which was taken, and this average rate was assessed upon them, in order that there might be no harsh dealing in realizing the rents.

In addition to the Sikandra Press, where proclamations, forms, &c., used to be printed, and the Sultani Press, in which stamps were impressed, a third press, named the "Shahjahani," was established, where school-books and a newspaper sheet could be struck off.

## CHAPTER III.

### AN ACCOUNT OF MY TOUR IN THE EASTERN DIVISION OF THE STATE OF BHOPAL, AND OF SOME BENEFICIAL REFORMS.

THE Eastern Division had not been visited by the Ruler for fifteen years. Accordingly, on the 26th of December 1870, or 3rd Shawal 1287 A.H., we marched from Bhopal, and camped at Amrauganj, where a similar procedure to that of last year's tour was adopted, and a proclamation regarding informers and corrupt officials was promulgated to the following effect: That whereas, owing to the impunity of perjured informers, informers and others have been prompted by spite to bring hundreds of false accusations, now it is ordained that, if any informer brings a false charge which he is unable to prove, he shall be punished, but if his case be proved, he shall be entitled to a reward; but if the complainant be a man

who has himself given a bribe, he shall not be punished for having brought a false accusation, even if he be unable to prove his case.

Next the subdivision of Bamhuri was examined, and the mosque, town, and gardens were inspected; also the subdivision of Dewari and Tal (the lake) and Bhimkund; and next in the Jhetari subdivision, where the survey was going on, I myself went into the fields and inspected the village measurements. The classification of soils and the incidence of the revenue were also subjects of my enquiry. After this the Silwani subdivision was visited, and after the ordinary business had been transacted, the Rajahs of Sirmow, Chaniwatia, and Nara Gadía were received, and their nazars were presented to us in public Durbar according to custom. Next we went to the subdivision of Sewans, whence also the business of Paikhlon was transacted, the grantees and farmers being summoned for the purpose, This last-mentioned pargana is situated in foreign territory, and is quite outside the borders of Bhopal, which accounts for its not being separately visited. After this we went to the subdivision of Ghairatganj, which is my private estate, and inspected the bazaar, court-house, and mosque, and I entertained every one in camp with food; thence we entered Garhi Ambapani, the estate of the Sultan Jahan Begam, who transacted the necessary business herself, and also feasted the whole of the camp. Next we went to Mahalpur, and Raisen, which is the headquarters of the Eastern Division. Here the officials were assembled to meet us; and the commissioner's court-house and the ancient buildings in the fort were inspected, and orders were given that the floor of the mosque, which was uneven, should be made level. We visited Sanchi Khanakhera, and inspected the stone sculptures and statues of Budha, and the ancient gateway; thence we proceeded to Dewanganj, and, after the usual procedure, we returned to Bhopal on the 16th February 1871, or the 22nd Zikat 1287 A.H., and made our entry with the usual formalities.

In this tour 1,534 petitions were presented, and all such as had reference to bribery, wrong-doing, and oppression on the part of the officials, were enquired into in my own presence by the ministerial officers of the respective departments, and all such as appeared to be well-grounded were referred to the courts for trial.

### AN ACCOUNT OF SOME BENEFICIAL REFORMS.

On the 1st of Muharram 1288 A.H., every pargana and district, in which a detachment of the army was stationed, was supplied with medical men, and over them a chief inspector.

The annual cost of medicines and pay of medical establishment amounts to Rs. 20,640.

A rule was introduced, allowing three months' leave to officials after three years' service.

Formerly the jurisdiction of Tahsildars extended to suits for sums up to Rs. 75, and of Nazims (*i.e.*, Commissioners) up to Rs. 250, and in criminal cases powers to inflict two months' imprisonment and Rs. 50 fine; while the Minister was competent to decide civil suits up to Rs. 500, and in criminal cases to sentence to four months' imprisonment and Rs. 100 fine. These powers were now enlarged. Suits up to Rs. 200 can be heard by Tahsildars, who can inflict two months' imprisonment and Rs. 50 fine. Nazims have jurisdiction up to Rs. 500 in civil suits, and can sentence to four months' imprisonment and fine of Rs. 100; and the Minister can decide suits up to Rs, 5,000, and has power to impose sentence of one year's imprisonment and Rs. 250 fine in criminal cases.

Formerly there was no time fixed within which suits were to be decided, which was the cause of delay and inconvenience in the delivery of judgments; and suits were allowed to stand over for a long time. Now, reports calling for an answer are required to be returned in fifteen days, criminal cases have to be decided in fifteen days, revenue cases in one month, and civil suits in three months; and a general

order was passed that, except for strong reasons, which must be reported within the terms fixed, replies to queries and decisions of cases delayed beyond the prescribed term should subject the official concerned to punishment by fine or otherwise. It was also determined that a return of unanswered references, and a return of decided cases, and those pending over three months, should be furnished by every office. Instructions were given that heads of departments were required to send in this return in the prescribed form every fifteen days; that it would be inspected on the following day; and if on that day the return of any office had not been received, dastaks should be issued against the head of such office. By these means it was intended that, for the future, no suit should be left undecided beyond the prescribed term without strong reasons, and that the industry or idleness of an official would be brought to light in three months, so the clever men would receive promotion, and the dilatory be punished by fine or dismissal.

While at Calcutta paying my respects to the Prince, I chanced to inspect the Magazine of Fort William, and on my return home, a new arsenal, after the pattern of the English, was instituted by me. The weapons of various kinds were arranged in the following order: In the lower storey, the muskets for the regiments, with the pistols, swords and regimental colours; and in the upper storey, the weapons which more particularly belonged to the Ruler, double and single barrelled guns, rifles, carbine, pistols, shields, swords and the fish ensign were there stored; the muskets were arranged on wooden stands, the spears and colours on the roof, and the bayonets and pistols in stars upon the wall.

## CHAPTER IV.

COMPRISES FIVE SUBJECTS.

1ST.—THE COMPLETION OF READING THE KORAN BY THE NAWAB SULTAN JAHAN BEGAM. MAY HER LIEE BE LONG.

2ND.—THE CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING THE AUTHOR'S SECOND MARRIAGE.

3RD.—THE SECOND TOUR IN THE SOUTHERN DIVISION OF THE BHOPAL DOMINIONS, AND CERTAIN NEW REFORMS, COMMENCING FROM 1289 A.H.

4TH.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECEIPT OF A LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, A SECOND JAMSHID, SECOND SON OF HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

5TH.—AN ACCOUNT OF MY INVESTITURE WITH THE STAR OF INDIA BY HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF INDIA AND ENGLAND.

IT is the custom of the people of India to spend large sums on the marriage of their children, which they celebrate with great rejoicings, but my ancestors have established a superior custom, which is, that the completion of the Koran by their children is celebrated with rejoicings, and this is called the nashra wedding. In accordance with this custom, my mother's nashra was celebrated by my grandmother, and my nashra was celebrated by my mother, at great expense, and with much pomp and circumstance, therefore I maintained the family custom. These festivities began on the 17th of Muharram 1288, and ended on the 11th Rabi-ul-awal of the same year. All the people of the State and city of Bhopal, and all the servants employed in the State, were royally feasted, and valuable dresses of honour were distributed; and the English gentlemen and the native Chiefs from the surrounding countries (those at least who have been in the habit of visiting Bhopal from ancient times on such occasion), were magnificently entertained, and the ceremony of presenting Huma was liberally performed by the relatives of our family and the nobles of the State. For forty nights, illuminations, fireworks, dancing, &c., took place, with great splendour, before very large assemblages of guests, and on the last day the festivities closed with an entertainment at the garden "Nishat Afza." The

sum of Rs. 296,419-9-6 was spent on the occasion of this marriage.

*The second subject.*—On the occasion of my visit to Calcutta, to pay my homage to the Duke of Edinburgh, second son of Her Majesty the Queen, may her reign be enduring, Colonel Thompson, the Political Agent of Bhopal, who accompanied me, spoke to me, advising me to marry again to get a helpmate to share the burden of Government; and this advice was repeated to me by Colonel Richard John Meade, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, on the occasion of our meeting. To this I replied that second marriages were not forbidden by my religion, but that I had not up to that time met with a fitting partner. On my return to Bhopal from Calcutta, I pondered over the advice of these gentlemen, and that advice was in accordance with the mandates of Almighty God, who very strongly in His holy Scriptures enjoins the marriage of widows, and the practice of the marriage of widows also prevails throughout the Musulmani population of Arabia, Turkey, Persia, Turania and Central Asia. Therefore, considering that the advice and admonition of both God and man pointed the same way, I determined to marry some suitable person, agreeable and popular with high and low; and when Colonel Thompson came to Bhopal, to take part in the rejoicings at the nashra of my beloved daughter (the light of my eyes, may she long be spared!), I thought it proper to openly ask for the sanction of the Governor-General to this fitting act. On the 8th of May 1871 A.D., or 7th Safar 1288 A.H., I received an English letter from Colonel John William Willoughby Osborne, C.B., Political Agent, in which he said that he had great pleasure in sending to me a letter from the Foreign Secretary, regarding my proposed marriage, and that he should be much pleased to see me married again. The purport of the enclosed letter was, that His Excellency the Governor-General saw no objection to the Begam's marrying a suitable person, if she wished to do so, but that

it would be as well if she consulted the chief persons of her State. Accordingly, with the concurrence of the members of my family and the officers of the State, I made choice of Syud Sadik Hassan Khan. This gentleman had been for seventeen years in the service of this State, and was for a long time Munshi to my sainted mother, the Nawab Sikandar Begam, who, appreciating his learning and good qualities, which were second to no other Munshi in Bhopal, appointed him superintendent of the Annals of Bhopal. Next he was placed at the head of the Educational Department, with authority over the masters of the Sulemani and other schools, after which the titles of Mír Dabír* and Khan were conferred on him, and he was appointed my secretary. He evinced great ability, honesty, and rapidity in the performance of the duties entrusted to him; one day's work was never put off to the next, and all the officers of the State and my relations approved of his character. This gentleman showed both originality and application, and was complete master of Arabic, Persian, good-breeding, composition, and other sciences. In point of family, he was a Syud of descent from Fatima, reckoned the best blood among all Muhammadans, and many works on religious subjects, of which he is the author or compiler, have attained a wide reputation. Since he has lived in this State, he has never been fined, nor has fault been found with him for any irregularity, as has been the case with other servants of the State, but he received praise from my sainted mother, and was always given up to study. His father's name was Syud Aulad Hassan, of Bokhara and Kanauj, and his grandfather's name Nawab Syud Aulad Ali Khan Bahadur "Anwar Jung," who was one of the principal nobles and renowned Jaghirdars of the Government of Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah, Ruler of Haidarabad in the Deccan, and nearly related to Amir Shamsal-Amra, from whom he held a fief worth five lakhs of rupees per

* The office of Mir Dabir is the same as that of Mir Múnshí.

annum, and had command of 1,000 cavalry and infantry, and the villages of Manbhali, Mislkhera, and Bimalkhera, &c., were assigned to him for an estate. His great grandfather, Syud Azizulla, was first cousin to Nawab Abúl Fateh Khan Shamsulamra, and his pedigree leads up to Syud Jalal of Bokhara "Makhdúm Jahaniyan Jahan Gusht." Syud Azizulla was one of the great nobles and relatives of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, a lord of territory and of an army. He died in the 90th year of his age, on the 20th Shawal 1279 A.H., and his son has succeeded to his title.

Suffice it to say that I followed the mandates of the holy Koran and the counsels of English officers, and put an end to evil report, because it was considered improper in the eyes of the world for me to be alone with a stranger and he not my husband, and it often happened that, in the conduct of State affairs, it was absolutely necessary for my secretary and myself to be alone together. According to the above advice and the dictates of true religion, in the presence of the Madar-ul-Mahám Muhammad Jamal-ud-din Khan, First Minister of the State of Bhopal, and Shaikh Zaínalabdín Kazi of the State of Bhopal, and other learned Doctors and State officers, in a public Durbar held for the purpose, I plighted my troth to the Syud Sahib, and we were married. The news was, according to the established practice of the State, communicated to Colonel Osborne, C.B., Political Agent in Bhopal. On the 30th June 1871 the following reply was received from that gentleman; "Your Highness was formerly apprised of the permission accorded to you to marry again by His Excellency the Governor-General, and a letter from the Foreign Secretary to that effect was communicated to you. It is gratifying to the Government to hear that you have satisfactorily carried out your intention."

My present husband has been raised to an equality in rank and dignity with the late Nawab Baki Muhammad Khan. The pay attaching to the office of Mir Dabír had been hitherto fixed at Rs. 4,931-11. The office of Motimid-ul-Maham,

or second minister of State, had been vacant since Saturday the 1st Shaban 1286 A.H., or the 6th of October 1869 A.D., the date of the death of Raja Kishen Ram; the emoluments of this office consist of an estate worth Rs. 24,000 a year, of which Rs. 6,000 had been continued to the heirs of the deceased Raja, and the rest had lapsed to the State. The office of Mir Dabír was abolished, and the pay transferred to the office of the Second Minister, to which an addition of Rs. 1,068-5-0 was made from the State revenue. The total amounting to Rs. 24,000 per annum, together with the title of Motimid-ul-Maham and the office of Second Minister, were conferred upon Syud Muhammad Sadík Hassan Khan on Monday the 21st Rabi-al-akhira 1288 A.H., or the 2nd July 1871, with a khilat, comprising nine suits of new clothes and five sets of jewels, an umbrella, a banner, a chaori, a horse, elephant, and palankin; in all twenty-four articles, valued at Rs. 21,053-2-6, were conferred upon him in a public Durbar in the presence of the chief officers of the State and my relatives. With the view of showing high and low the honour he had received, I directed him to go forth from my Hall of Audience, mounted on his elephant, surrounded with all the pomp and circumstance of his rank, to his own house. He was entrusted with all the duties which the former Second Minister used to carry on in my late mother's time, and was caused by me to administer the office before me in the same manner. Intimation of this matter was sent to the Political Agent in Bhopal in due course, and on the 31st of July 1871 he signified his approval of my excellent arrangements.

The speech, which the Syud Sahib delivered in Durbar on this occasion, is as follows:—My thanks are due to the All Merciful Providence, by whom the loyalty, truth, industry, and zeal of the servant in the interests of an appreciative, enlightened, liberal and benevolent master are universally held to be reasons for the elevation of the faithful; and more particularly my thanks are due to Him

for making me a partaker in the gracious and generous bounty of the noble and illustrious chief, in whose boundless benevolence and infinite consideration, not only all present at this Durbar participate, but also many residents of distant cities, and all the inhabitants of the territories of Bhopal are grateful for her kindness. Benedictions and blessings on the Prophet, long suffering and merciful to the sins of true believers, who has so purged all believers from evil passions and bad desires, such as embezzlement, bribery, theft, jealousy, weakness and favouritism in every matter, whether appertaining to this world or the next, and has threatened sinners with evil report in this world and torment in the next, and has guided us in the paths of honesty, sincerity, zeal, devotion, obedience, friendliness and faith, and has apportioned a perfect recompense thereto. Next my thanks are due to Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, the mighty Shahjahan Begam (may God prosper her fortune!) who, of her grace, appreciation, condescension, and benevolence, which in her are nature's ornaments, first exalted me to the office of Mir Munshi, thereby raising me from the dust to the skies; next of her bounty and liberality selected me and conferred on me the office of Second Minister of State, with all its accessions of rank and estate, and by increasing my rank and dignity invested me with suitable consideration and importance, and gave me the means of showing further loyalty and attachment. It is impossible in these few words to express sufficient thanks for this great appreciation of my services, and it is bad taste for me to speak of my claims to acknowledgment for my own services. Therefore it is now enough for me to promise always to show my heartfelt gratitude for her favours to the best of my powers, and to devote my whole life to further the interests of her issue and of her State. May God increase to me day by day the power to render services to this State by my diligence, zeal, singleness of purpose and devotion! God grant that Her Highness the Ruler (God's blessing be on her!), all her

relations, and the officers of State may continue satisfied with me to the last day of my life on account of my sincerity, integrity, and open and secret loyalty to the State.

Afterwards, considering the office of Second Minister not good enough for the lofty dignity of this gentleman, I abolished the office from the 1st Safar 1289 A.H.; and, with the sanction of the Government of India, conferred on him the title of Nawab Wala Jah Amir-ul-Mulk Syud Muhammad Sadik Hassan Khan Bahadur. The Nawab Sahib, who is a very mine of the jewels of courtesy, and a treasury of true gentility, may God preserve him! regarding the commands of the holy writings as absolute, and as the true guide to happiness both in this world and the next, made a settlement of Rs. 25,000 on me in case of separation, and out of his separate maintenance made me an allowance of Rs. 3,000 a year as pin-money.

A noble who receives dignity, rank, and title from his king is proportionately honoured by his contemporaries, is known to the world by that title as long as he lives, and every one in all transactions shows the consideration due to that rank and title. Therefore, on the 24th Zikat 1288 A.H., or 4th of February 1872 A.D., I sent an official despatch to Colonel Osborne, C.B., Political Agent, to the following effect:—When, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, my marriage was contracted with Bakshi Baki Muhammad Khan "Nasrat Jang," the following marks of distinction were accorded to him by that Government:—

*1st.*—The title of Nawab with the addition of Nazir-ud-daula.

*2nd.*—A khilat from the Governor-General.

*3rd.*—A salute of 17 guns within the territories of Bhopal.

*4th.*—That he should receive visits from English officers.

*5th.*—That he should receive nazars from the officers* of

* *i. e.*, Native Officers. This is a mistake as far as Nawab Syud Muhammad Sadik Hassan is concerned. Nazars were not given to him by the Native Officers of the Bhopal Battalion.

the Bhopal contingent on the occasion of his investiture with the khilat.

*6th.*—That the Assistant to the Political Agent should advance to meet him from the house at Jahangirabad as far as the bridge at the same place.

*7th.*—That the Mir Munshis of the Indore and Sehore Agencies should advance to meet him as far as the Budhwara Gate.

*8th.*—That the Agent to the Governor-General and the Political Agent of Bhopal should, on the occasion of their presence at Bhopal, visit him at his own house.

These marks of distinction were all accorded by the British Government, while such honours as were the peculiar province of this State, such as the receipt of nazars from all officials, the members of my family, and the officers of State, also the assignment of a suitable estate, were conferred upon him by this Government. Now all the honours granted to my first husband by the British Government and the State ought to be accorded in like manner to Syud Sadik Hassan Khan, because both by Muhammadan and English law the second husband stands on an equality with the first, and therefore for the husband of the Ruler to be merely a servant of the State and hold the office of Second Minister is derogatory to the Ruler.

Thus, there is every reason why Syud Sadik Hassan Khan should be raised to the same rank as that enjoyed by the late Nawab Baki Muhammad Khan, and it is very important that he should resign the office of Second Minister. Therefore, it is your suppliant's prayer, that the British Government be pleased to grant to Syud Muhammad Sadik Hassan Khan all the honors bestowed on the first Nawab Consort, and that the title of "Nawab Walah Jah Amir-ul-Mulk Syud Muhammad Sadik Hassan" be conferred on him. This request was not preferred by me in the first instance, because, although there is divine sanction for the marriage of widows, and the custom is universal among Muhammadans of other countries besides being common in England,

yet the Muhammadans of India have abandoned the custom, which is looked upon as strange, and the prejudice of the Hindus against the remarriage of widows has become firmly rooted in their minds also, although it is contrary to common sense, to the religion of the Muhammadans, and opposed to the English law.

"There are some of my relatives who, from ignorance, disapprove of the marriage of widows; these persons regard with disfavour my second marriage as contrary to the usage of our family, and when they see my second husband advanced to the rank of the first, their rancour will be increased; therefore I deemed it expedient to advance my present husband to the rank of the former by slow degrees. With this end in view, it was in the first place determined to confer upon him the office of Second Minister, which was vacant at the time. Now this office has been abolished, and the income of the estate of the Second Minister, which was allowed every year by the State in my late mother's time, will be absorbed into the State coffers; while an estate equal to that of the late Nawab will be given to my present husband, and his rank will be raised to the same equality. I hope that you will vouchsafe me a favourable reply to my plans."

This despatch was translated and forwarded in due course by post, by the Political Agent, to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, who, in like manner, forwarded it for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, who granted my prayer. Afterwards, according to the usual procedure, the despatch, conveying formal sanction, was forwarded to me by the Political Agent on the 17th of December 1872 A.D., or the 18th Rajab 1289 A.H., and on the 10th Shában he came to Bhopal as the bearer of the khilat, presented by the Governor-General, and stayed at the house in Jahangirabad.

On the 11th, the Political Agent proceeded in State with the khilat to the Public Audience Hall in the Palace which had been specially decorated for the occasion. All the

officers of State, members of my family, subordinates, and landowners were assembled, according to custom, and, as usual, a salute was fired, and the appointed ceremony of Istikbal was observed. When we had all taken our seats, and the formal greetings had been exchanged, the Political Agent himself placed in my hands the congratulatory despatch, sanctioning the khilat and the title of Nawab, and offered his good wishes, and Munshi Din Diyal, Mir Munshi, by order of the Political Agent, read the despatch aloud from beginning to end, in presence of the assembly.

This is the purport of the despatch:—

"Before this, on the 17th of September of this year, Your Highness was apprized of the joyful intelligence that the British Government had consented to confer the title of Nawab and a khilat on Nawab Muhammad Sadik Hassan Khan, your beloved husband. Accordingly, to-day it is my pleasing and agreeable duty, in the presence of this joyful assembly, which has been specially convened to witness this auspicious event, to confer on the Nawab the khilat and title which have been bestowed on him by the British Government, and I hereby proclaim before the assembled nobles and officers of the Bhopal State, that the title of Nawab Walah Jah Amir-ul-Mulk, and of a khilat suited to this exalted rank, have been conferred on the Nawab by the British Government, and that that illustrious Government has sanctioned all the marks of distinction appertaining to this rank. It is proper and expedient that the members of the ruling family, the nobles and officers of State, should cordially observe the marks of respect and honour such as former Nawabs of Bhopal enjoyed; and that the Nawab, in gratitude for this splendid boon bestowed on him by the British Government, should endeavour to increase the good reputation of the Ruler, and to advance the interests and prosperity of the people with all his talents and ability.

"It is open to Your Highness and the Nawab to maintain the prosperity and progress of this State, which is already a pattern of good management to other States, and to

continue on that path of progress already so well commenced. I now conclude these remarks with this prayer, that the khilat and title may prove a blessing and happiness to Nawab Syud Muhammad Sadik Hassan Khan and to Your Highness, as well as to all the nobles of this State, and that the attainment of this lofty rank by the Nawab may continue to be a matter of congratulation to Your Highness and to all your family and to the officers of this State. Dated the 15th October 1872.

The Political Agent then invested the Nawab with the khilat, and the Nawab presented a nazar of 101 gold mohurs to the Political Agent, in the name of the Governor-General, and all the ruling family and officers of State and landowners, &c., presented nazars to the Nawab, according to their respective means. Then the Political Agent took the Nawab with him to the Nawab Kudsia Begam's house, to whom he presented a nazar of one gold mohur and five rupees, on account of her being of greater honour in our family than he, after which the Durbar broke up, and the Political Agent returned to his residence.

On this happy occasion, a sum of Rs. 1,000 was presented to the poor out of the State coffers, and all public servants contributed seven and a half days' pay to the Nawab, besides the nazars brought in their hands amounting to ten per cent. on their salaries. Although, according to the established custom of the country, fifteen days' pay ought to have been deducted from all officials, the Nawab was good enough to remit seven days' pay, and only to take the other seven days'; one anna out of every rupee of revenue was also allowed by the State, and this sum was to be paid into the public treasury, and to be expended in defraying the cost of a dinner to the poor and to the servants of the State. From the beginning of 1280 Fasli, or the 1st Shabán 1289 A.H., an estate of Rs. 75,472-10-3 was assigned from the State for the use of the Nawab.

The khilat, valued at Rs. 10,000, bestowed by the Governor-General, was composed of the following articles:—one

diamond aigrette, one large pearl necklace, one turban, one gold embroidered mantle, one shawl, one coat, one piece of kincob, one piece of muslin, four double-barrelled guns, one gold-hilted scimitar, one gold lace sword-belt, one dagger, one bow, one quiver, one shield, one elephant with chased silver-gilt howdah, with trappings and head piece, one gold embroidered fan, one velvet-covered throne, one horse with gold and silver trappings and gold-embroidered saddle. All these articles the Nawab made over to the State, and received in exchange their money value. After the receipt of the above estate, the Nawab doubled the annual sum of Rs. 3,000, which he had assigned as my allowance, and paid Rs. 6,000 into my private account from the Fasli year 1280.

*The third subject.*—Although in the three years which had elapsed since my accession I had made inspections of the three Divisions, accounts of which have been given in this Part III, yet, considering it to be expedient to keep up my acquaintance with the true state of the peasantry, and to keep the officials up to their work by my attention to business and inspections, I determined to institute regular tours, and started from Bhopal on the 10th Shawal 1288 A.H., for an inspection of the Southern Division. About a fortnight was spent in each pargana, and the same measures were taken as in former tours for the relief of the peasantry, for inquiring into the true conduct of the collectors, and for the amelioration of God's creatures. Orders were given to all, high and low, in my own camp, to pay for their supplies in cash at the market-price, and the taking of anything under promise of payment from either the bazars of the camp, or the town, was strictly prohibited. In this tour the peasantry were generally found to be grateful and contented, and the officials appeared to have been deterred by fear of detection and severe punishment from every kind of illegality and oppression. Nevertheless whoever was proved to have been guilty of even slight tyranny was punished in a suitable manner in proportion to the offence committed. In this tour only 758 petitions were presented,

and suitable orders for their disposal were made to the heads of the departments to which the petitions referred.

One of the reforms introduced was as follows:—

Formerly it was the rule of the Civil Courts to sell by auction all the property which could be found of a debtor against whom several decrees had been given, and after distributing the proceeds rateably among the creditors, to give the debtor receipts in full. This practice led to extensive concealment of property and to loss on the part of the creditors, and gave an opening for malpractices to the evil disposed. Therefore, this rule was substituted for the public good, that after auction-sale of all known property and distribution of the proceeds among the creditors rateably, instead of releases in full, receipts for the money actually received were to be taken from the creditors, and execution could be again issued against any property belonging to the debtor which might be subsequently found.

*2nd.*—The period of limitation allowed in Bhopal in suits for recovery of debts and loans was fifteen years, while in the Cantonment of Sehore, according to the British law, only three years were allowed; as the observance of this rule operated oppressively on plaintiffs who lived in the Cantonment of Sehore, the period of fifteen years was allowed in all cases without regard to the residence of the plaintiff.

*3rd.*—There was no fixed mode of procedure in cases of bankrupt mahajuns, and on these occasions great trouble was given to judicial officers, and all sorts of opposition was offered to the creditors; therefore the following rules were made:—That any bankrupt declaring his own bankruptcy, and praying that his creditors might be rateably paid, and it appearing satisfactorily proved that he be bankrupt, a list should be taken of all his ascertained property which should be attached; the cause of his bankruptcy enquired into, and a notification should be served on all his creditors to come forward and lay their claims within one month. Then a schedule of creditors, with the

amounts of their debts, was to be prepared, and after the expiration of the above term, the creditor was to be informed of the share he would take according to the amount of his debt, and then the creditor should be at liberty to pay the Court-fees according to his dividend, and sue, on which the usual procedure in Civil Courts would follow. Also in cases of necessity, it was provided that debtors could be imprisoned for one month, to allow time for the creditors to find out what property the debtor had, and if the creditors and debtor, after the Court had taken the preliminary steps and attached the property, agreed to divide proportionately the assets of the debtor, half the usual fees should be deducted therefrom, and the balance made over to them for division.

*4th.*—Poor people were often deterred from bringing suits to recover their just rights by inability to furnish security for payment of the Court fees, or by fear of the demand, in case they failed to prove their case. The following rule was therefore framed to meet this case—That the suit of a plaintiff, so poor as neither to possess property himself nor to be able to furnish security, should be entertained without payment of fees, which should be altogether remitted in case of dismissal for want of proof.

*5th.*—Orders for describing documents of parties to suits which may be filed with the record, were given, that they were to be described at the time of their being filed, in order that in case of any dispute arising, it might be known under what circumstances the document was filed.

*6th.*—Courtesans were in the habit of looking upon the dancing and singing of their protegées, by reason of their having been brought up and taught by them, as their own private property, and used to prevent their marriage, thereby exercising an authority contrary to common sense and to our holy law. Therefore, it was ruled that these courtesans' girls were free agents, and might follow their own

wishes, and marry if they liked, but that the ornaments, jewellery, and property they might have at the time of their separation, should be considered the property of their trainers who had brought them up and had them educated.

*7th.*—The term under which an appeal might be instituted used to be three months from the date of procuring a copy of the order, but the defeated party used purposely to refrain from taking a copy, in order to extend the period allowed for appeal; to meet this, the following rule was framed, that, after the case was decided, the parties should be informed that they could take copies, and that the period allowed for appeal should count from the date of such information being given.

*8th.*—The pay of the watchmen of the city of Bhopal used to be collected from the people by the Criminal Courts, by whom it was distributed, and it was with difficulty that the poor could pay. Notwithstanding that the money was raised for the protection of the people, yet out of pure kindness and pity, the levy of this tax was given up, and the payment of the chaukidars, at a monthly cost of Rs. 226, was undertaken by the State.

*9th.*—The servants and officials of Bhopal had been in the habit of taking villages in farm in the name of their relations, and their position gave them opportunities for oppressing the tenants and for preventing the realization of the Government revenue. Therefore, orders were issued that, on the expiration of the period of the current settlement, no servant of any note or his relations should receive a village in farm.

*10th.*—A request was made for discontinuance of the payment into the Sehore treasury of Rs. 12,000 a year, towards the maintenance of the Sehore and Bhopal road. In reply to this, a letter from the Political Agent at Sehore was received, referring to letters from the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India and the Under Secretary to the Government of India, and enclosing copies of

both letters, sanctioning the withdrawal of the annual contribution of Rs. 12,000 a year.

The purport of the correspondence was that His Excellency the Governor-General agreed to the withdrawal of the payment of Rs. 12,000 from the end of the current year. Accordingly orders were given for the appointment of a superintendent and staff, to supervise the necessary expenditure, and to construct the road with bridges, &c., between Sehore and Bhopal, and Bhopal and Hoshungabad. In the same way, great endeavours were constantly made by me to promote reforms, to which I gave much thought and consideration.

*Fourth subject.*—When His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, in returning from his visit to the Capital Calcutta on his way to London, stayed for shooting on the banks of the Tawa River, near Hoshungabad, I prayed him to honour Bhopal with a visit; but his Royal Highness expressed so strong a desire for speedy return to London, that it was impossible for him to honour Bhopal. Therefore, on the last day of Safar 1287 A.H., I addressed a petition to His Royal Highness, and begged him to accept as curiosities and a souvenir some pieces of embroidery worked by my own hands and also by the Sultan Jahan Begam, the heiress-apparent, with some specimens of weapons, &c., manufactured at Bhopal. In reply to this the Prince of his Royal condescension honoured me with a letter, dated the 6th of November 1871 A.D., and sent me some handsome presents of English make, which were conveyed to me through the Governor-General and the Indore and Sehore Agencies. This is a description of the articles. A piece of plain watered silk, seven pieces of shot and brocaded silks, one gold embroidered silk-dress, a silken tablecloth covered with embroidery, a photograph book, containing portraits of the Royal Family, a pair of very handsome mirrors with jewelled frames, a pair of opera glasses, a very handsome and valuable clock, and an attar-stand set

with gems. The letter which accompanied the presents is here given:

CLARENCE HOUSE, LONDON, *November* 6th, 1871.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I HAVE received your Highness' most welcome letter, together with the interesting specimens of the arts and manufactures of your country, which you have been good enough to send to me, and which I shall ever value as memorials of the kind feelings towards Her Majesty and myself which you have so graciously expressed. The articles worked by the hands of your Highness and of your daughter the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam will be treasured by me with special regard. Your Highness is pleased to refer to the regret with which you look back to the unfortunate circumstances which prevented my visit to Bhopal. It was, I assure you, a source of great disappointment to me that I was unable to visit your Highness' dominions, of the admirable administration of which both under your Mother the late Nawab Sikándar Begam of happy memory and of yourself I had heard so much, and the fame of which has indeed extended to all parts of Her Majesty's Empire. I have the pleasure to send for your Highness' acceptance some specimens of the arts and manufactures of Europe; which, though of trifling value in themselves, may serve to assure you of the sincerity with which I sign myself.

Your Highness' faithful friend and well-wisher,

ALFRED.

TO H. H. THE NAWAB SHAHJAHAN BEGAM OF BHOPAL.

*The fifth subject.*—In the month of Jamadi-ul-akhir 1289 A.H., a private letter was received by me from the Political Agent to this effect: "It is with great pleasure that I have to send you my congratulations on this matter, that it has pleased Her Majesty on account of your hearty labours for the progress of your dominions, the redressing of grievances, advancement of your subjects, and your

loyalty to the British Government, which have been reported by the Government of India, to confer upon you of her Royal condescension the dignity of Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, and has sent her commands to the Viceroy to confer on you the Star and Insignia of the first class of this exalted order." Next he wrote on the 14th of Ramzan 1289 A. H., equal to the 16th of November 1872, the Viceroy will visit Bombay and receive some of the greatest Chiefs of India and will then invest you with these marks of Royal favour.

On the 5th Ramzan 1289 A. H., or 7th of November 1872 A.D., I set out from Bhopal for Bombay with my State officers, nobles, and escort, in all numbering 276 persons. I was accompanied by my beloved daughter the Sultan Jahan Begam, the Nawab Amir-ul-mulk Walah Jah, the Madar-ul-Maham, Faiz Muhammad Khan, Nazir Muhammad Khan, Akil Muhammad Khan, Latif Muhammad Khan Bakshi Muhammad Hassan Khan, with the Treasurer Lalji and other servants, and took with me the necessary equipage and six horsemen under an officer. We travelled slowly as far as Chipanir on the Bhopal side of the Narbada, and, after crossing the river, took the rail at Hurda in British territory, which station we left at 5 P.M. on the 10th Ramzan, and reached the Byculla station of Bombay at 11 A.M. on the following day. Colonel Osborne, C.B., Political Agent of Bhopal, and Messrs. Osborne and Gonne, Political Secretary and an Aide-de-Camp and Interpreter of the Governor of Bombay's were present on the platform. Mr. Osborne shook hands with me and my daughter, and asked after our health. First, I and my daughter, then the Nawab and the rest of my Sirdars got out of the train. My daughter wore a veil on the occasion. Sir Jamsetji Cursetji and many other gentlemen of distinction had assembled to receive us. Mr. Gonne escorted me and Mr. Osborne escorted my daughter, Colonel Osborne walked with the Aide-de-Camp, and the Interpreter with the Nawab. When we reached the outside of the station we found drawn

up a guard of honour of the 83rd Regiment of Infantry, who presented arms, while the band played the general salute. The first carriage was occupied by me, my daughter, Mr. Osborne and the Nawab, and Colonel Osborne, Mr. Gonne, the Aide-de-Camp of the Governor, and my Sirdars followed in other carriages, and we were escorted by a detachment of the Poona horse. A salute of 19 guns was fired, and the English gentlemen accompanied us to Limji Manikji's house, which had been engaged for me as my residence for one month at a rent of Rs. 1,550.

Four o'clock the same afternoon was the time fixed for my interview with the Governor of Bombay, and after the ceremony of istikbal, in which the Secretary and Aide-de-Camp came as far as our house, the visit was paid at the Governor's Residence, and we were escorted home again in the same manner. On the 12th Ramzan at 8-30 A.M., the Governor returned the visit, the Madar-ul-maham and Bakshi Muhammad Hassan Khan were deputed to wait on him at his house, to bring him and escort him back again. A salute was fired from the Fort, and a detachment of European Infantry attended at my residence to present arms to the Governor. On the same day at 3 P.M., the Governor-General, Lord Northbrook, arrived by steamer and landed at the pier, and was received at the landing place near the Fort by all the Native Chiefs assembled at Bombay and by the English officers. His Excellency Lord Northbrook went straight from the steamer to his tent, whence he proceeded in a carriage to the residence of the Governor of Bombay, accompanied by all the Native Chiefs, &c., in carriages also. At the time of the reception, I, the Sultan Jahan Begam, the Nawab and the First Minister were all in the same carriage, and the equipages were drawn up in the following order. First the carriage drawn by four horses of the Governor-General, next to which was the carriage of Maharaja Scindia, next that occupied by me, and then that of the Maharaja of Rewa. During the procession, the Raja of Kolapur, disregarding the prescribed order and

without permission, brought his carriage in front of mine, paying no attention to the remonstrances of the mace-bearer. The officer, whose duty it was to preserve the prescribed order of carriages, on being informed of this by Lachman Sing, Jemadar of mace-bearers, made the Raja of Kolapur take his carriage to the rear of ours, which, before such a large concourse, was a severe rebuff. On the Governor-General's arrival at his destination, all the Chiefs departed for their own residences.

From the sea-shore to the Governor's mansion, the entire distance led through streets with houses on both sides. Each street was so crowded, that there must have been hundreds of thousands of people assembled, while the number of women and children at every window of the seven-storied houses was beyond all computation. The numbers of carriages and horsemen made the spectacle well-worth seeing. It is said that the population of Bombay exceeds 700,000 and the carriages are more than 7,000.

On the 13th Ramzan 1289 A.H., or 15th November 1872 A.D., I was received by the Viceroy at a private visit. The Foreign Secretary and an Aide-de-Camp, with an escort of cavalry, met us half way, and escorted us the same distance on our return. To this interview there also went the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, and the Nawab Walla Jah, the First Minister, the Commander of my Forces, Munshi Moti Lal, Vakil, and Lala Lalji, the Treasurer. After the first formal greetings, after a short interval all presented their nazars. I then enquired after the health of His Lordship and daughter, and also after the health of Her Gracious Majesty, to each of which enquiries His Lordship returned full and courteous replies; after which he observed that the proposed Durbar at Umballa had been given up on account of the sickness there, otherwise he would have given me the further trouble of attending there. I replied that it was with pleasure, and not trouble, that I received his commands. He then asked, Have you

not written an account of Mecca in English? I answered that it was my late mother who had written that book, and that I had written a history of Bhopal in Urdu and Persian, which had not yet been translated into English, but that when translated I would do myself the honour of sending him a copy. After this conversation, attar and betel-nut and garlands of flowers were distributed; mine were received from Lord Northbrook himself, those for the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam and the Nawab were bestowed by the Foreign Secretary, and the others present received theirs from the Aide-de-Camp. The Governor-General advanced to the edge of the carpet to meet us at our entry and escort us on our departure. On my return I met the Nawab Kudsia Begam going towards Government house, and heard that, owing to the Durbar being over, she was not honoured with a regular visit according to precedent, but that there was merely a private meeting.

On Saturday the 16th November, or 24th Ramzan 1289 A.H., at 3 P.M., we proceeded in carriages to the Governor-General's Durbar for the purpose of receiving the Order of the Star of India. I was accompanied by the Political Agent, the Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, the Nawab, the First Minister, Akil Muhammad Khan, Nazir Muhammad Khan, Latif Muhammad Khan, and Faiz Muhammad Khan. Near the Durbar Tent, we drew our carriage up, and waited according to the instructions given us by the Political Agent, until such time as we should be sent for. A floor cloth had been laid down all the way from our carriages to the Durbar Tent, a distance of several hundred paces. Every Knight Grand Commander who had been summoned to attend the Durbar was received at the edge of the principal road by the Under-Secretary, and by him conducted to a tent which had been pitched for his accommodation and for robing himself with the mantle of the order, after which he was escorted to the Durbar Tent in the same manner. In the tent were assembled the members of the second and third class, and, according to

the prescribed forms of the Chapters, the Knights Grand Commanders were behind the Knights of the second class, in front of whom were the Companions of the Order, while in rear of the Knights Grand Commander was the Governor-General wearing his robes as Grand Master of the Order, the train of his mantle being held up by two pages. According to our notions, the Governor-General, though superior in rank, occupied a position inferior to that of the Native Princes. We concluded that the highest place was counted from the left side, and commenced from the back descending to the front, inasmuch as those in front were of the lowest rank. The arrangement of the Procession and Durbar was as follows. First the sticks in waiting and mace-bearers, then the officers of the troops on duty, the Under-Secretary and the Foreign Secretary, then the Companions of the Star or Members of the third class, then the Knights Commanders or Members of the second class, then the Members of the first class, and preceding each Knight Grand Commander an Officer carrying his banner, while in rear of the Knight were his Sirdars and friends: the Military Secretary and Private Secretary of the Viceroy and Governor-General each carrying the banners of the Grand Master, and behind the Grand Master were the Officers and servants of the Governor-General.

When the Grand Master entered the Durbar Tent which had been arranged as above, the Members of the Order stood up in rows each in his place, and remained standing until he reached his throne, also each Knight made obeisance to the Grand Master as the latter passed his place, and a Royal salute was fired. Afterwards by order of the Grand Master, the Secretary proclaimed the Chapter to have commenced, and began to call over the names of the Knights in Order. Those who were present stood up and answered to their names; and for those who were absent the Under-Secretary replied. Then the Secretary proclaimed that this Chapter had been convened by Royal mandate for

the installation of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, Ruler of Bhopal, and of the Hon'ble John Strachey, after which the Foreign and Under-Secretaries came to my carriage to conduct me to the Durbar Tent, where two other gentlemen met us, and the procession advanced in this manner; First the sticks in waiting, then the mace-bearer, then the Under-Secretary with the Star of the Order, and behind him the Foreign Secretary, next came two gentlemen, then the Political Agent of Bhopal, then an Officer with the banner furled, then I followed, and behind me my companions. As soon as we set foot within the Durbar Tent, the soldiers of the guard presented arms to me, and we took the seats specially provided for us. Behind me was the Political Agent's chair, and by the side of him was the chair of Bakshi Hafiz Muhammad Hassan Khan, as it was necessary for him to hold up the banner. Behind him were the chairs of my daughter and of the Nawab and First Minister, and in their rear the seats of the rest of our party. On account of my sex, the Government were pleased to allow two little girls to act as my train bearers. The order in which the Native Princes were seated in this Durbar, was regulated by their seniority on the rolls of the Star of India.

The Foreign Secretary gave the Royal mandate to the Grand Master, who ordered the installation to be made. I went up to the throne in which the Grand Master was seated, the Secretary took the Star from the table, and after bowing, handed it to the Grand Master, who gave the Royal mandate to the Secretary, which he read aloud. He then led me up to the table, and at a sign from the Grand Master, Sir Richard Temple took the Star, and Sir Edward Russell the banner from the Secretary, and both gentlemen attired me in the mantle of the Order, and conducted me to the foot of the throne, and I made my obeisance while the two gentlemen remained standing one on each side. The Grand Master then arose, and put the collar of the Order on my neck and said.—In the name of the Queen and by Her Majesty's command, I here invest you with the honourable Insignia of

the Star of India, of which most Exalted Order Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be a Knight Grand Commander.

After which a salute of 19 guns was fired, and the Foreign Secretary led me up to each Knight Grand Commander in turn, who shook hands with me, after which he conducted me to the table, where I signed an agreement as provided in the rules of the Order; then I bowed and took my place in front of my chair, and Bakshi Muhammad Hassan Khan, my standard bearer, unfurled and waved my banner according to the rules. There was a flourish of trumpets, and the Secretary of the Order proclaimed aloud my titles before the assembly, after which I and the rest of the assembly, who had remained standing in a respectful manner, took our seats.

Afterwards Sir John Strachey was installed as a member of the second class, there was neither mantle nor collar in this class, and then the Durbar broke up, and the Viceroy and Governor-General took his departure under a salute of 21 guns. All the Grand Commanders left the Durbar according to their seniority, and proceeded to the tents set apart for them, where they divested themselves of their mantles before returning to their residences. On the way I was met by the Foreign Secretary, who gave into my hands the Royal Deed, appointing me a Member of the Order with the Queen's signature attached. This is the Deed. Victoria by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, to Her Highness the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, Ruler of Bhopal, greeting: Whereas we are desirous of conferring upon you such a mark of our Royal Favour as will evince the esteem in which we hold your person and the services which you have rendered to our Indian Empire, we have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be a Knight Grand Commander of our Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

Grant of the dignity of a Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India to Her Highness the Nawab Shahjahan Begam of Bhopal.

We do, therefore, by these presents, grant unto you the dignity of a Knight Grand Commander of our said Order, and hereby authorize you to have, hold, and enjoy the dignity and rank of a Knight Grand Commander of our aforesaid Order, together with all and singular the privileges thereunto belonging and appertaining.

Given at our Court at Balmoral under our sign Manual and the Seal of our said Order, this thirtieth day of May 1872 in the thirty-fifth year of our reign.

By Her Majesty's command,

(Sd.) Illegible.

In this Durbar, counting those who took part in the ceremony and the spectators besides, there were probably more than 5,000 persons. On my return to my residence, I composed an address of thanks for this exalted dignity conferred on me, and sent it to the Political Agent. The address was as follows:—" I return a thousand thanks to the Creator of heaven and earth, who has entrusted the rule of Hindustan to a Sovereign more merciful, attentive, and thoughtful for the interests of India than of England her native country. This Sovereign is the Queen of Great Birtain. Thanks be to God that Pure Being, for entrusting the Empire of Hindustan to a Ruler of such clemency; Thanks be to God who has made the people of Hindustan obedient to a monarch so just and powerful, that all the Chiefs of Hindustan are enabled, merely by the ample protection and the prestige of her empire, to reign in their own capitals without fear or dread of foreign enemies or invaders. I can quote a good and true illustration of this. Let all persons hear it! When the officers and administrators of this empire had satisfied themselves of the sincere loyalty of my kind mother, her country of Bhopal was, in the first place, several times rescued by the despatch of European troops

from the hostile attempts of foes and invaders; secondly, as a reward for her loyalty the Pargana of Bairesia was granted for ever to the Bhopal State, with which it was incorporated; thirdly, she received the first class of the Star of India; fourthly, after her death, Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India and Great Britain, caused her Secretary of State in England to write to me a letter of condolence, by which special act of condescension I was greatly honoured; and fifthly, she has issued her commands to her Governor-General who has done me the honour of conferring the first class of the Order of the Star of India upon me in public Durbar. A long life would not adequately suffice to show the gratitude I owe her for her favours, condescension and protection. Therefore we should all, small and great, firmly and steadfastly support the empire of such a Ruler in Hindustan, rendering her a ready obedience, and considering the stability of Her Rule to be likewise the stability of our own power and that of our descendants. Let all the European gentlemen and others here* assembled reflect how true is the illustration I have given. It is my hope that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General will lay this my address before Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, in order that she may be aware of my gratitude for those favours which have been shown by Her Government to my late beloved mother and to myself."

In the evening the Governor-General gave a nautch or ball and display of fireworks, in honour of the Native Princes, and sent a card of invitation to me among others, but I was prevented from indisposition from availing myself of it. He was also good enough to give me a portrait of himself which is treasured by me as a souvenir. The Governor-General is a most courteous, frank, affable, firm, discerning gentleman, and shows great consideration to Native Princes. In the three interviews I had with him as well as in the

* This speech appears to have been composed for delivery in Durbar, but could not have been delivered.

Durbar, he each time showed more attentive consideration and lofty appreciation.

Two or three days afterwards, the Political Agent sent me a little book which had been compiled under the orders of the Government of India, and contained the Regulations regarding the Star of India. Inasmuch as the contents of this book deserve perusal, and should be borne in mind by all Members of the Order of the Star of India, the following epitome is given below. [Then follow some twenty Regulations regarding the Order of the Star of India, which it is believed are to be found in the little book referred to, and which may reasonably be omitted here.—H. C. B.]

On Thursday the 17th of Ramzan, the Governor-General honoured me with a return visit at my residence. The Nawab and the First Minister proceeded as far as the residence of the Thakur of Bhaunagar to escort the illustrious visitor. A salute was fired from the Fort, and a detachment of European Infantry with their band was sent to my residence to present arms to the Governor-General. In this Durbar, all my relations and the officers who had accompanied me to Bombay were present, and they all offered nazars of gold mohurs, which the Governor-General was good enough to excuse. He said "your Highness has been put to inconvenience by making this journey in the month of Ramzan, if I had only known of it before, the time of the Durbar should have been fixed to take place after the month of Ramzan was over." Such was the kindness with which he spoke in this and other matters. After this I asked permission to visit Surat and Ahmadabad, and said that the climate of Bombay did not suit me, and I therefore wished to leave as soon as possible: he expressed his regret at the uncongeniality of the climate, and granted me permission to proceed to the abovementioned cities. Then with my own hands I presented the Governor-General with attar and betel-nut, and placed a garland of flowers round his neck, and did the same for the two Members of Council, and two Agents to the Governor-General,

namely, the Agents for Central India and Rajputana, who were also present. The Governor-General descended from his throne and received the garland most graciously. He was accompanied by thirteen gentlemen of rank, all the rest of whom received attar and pan at the hands of the Nawab.

The port of Bombay is on a large island, and also built on the sea-shore in the Concan country. It is stated that little more than a century ago, it was merely an unhealthy village, but that ever since its acquisition by the kings of England, it has continually grown in importance, until at the present day it is one of the great ports of the world. It is probable that the Musulman population equals the Hindu, and that the Christians are as numerous as the Parsees; many of the inhabitants are merchants of great wealth; every kind of costly merchandise from China and Europe is to be met with in plenty in the bazaars, and if a complete circuit of the town be made, men from every quarter of the world would be seen. The inhabitants of this city, especially the merchants, are great cheats and rogues. The climate is very unhealthy, and does not agree with visitors from other towns. The houses range from two to five, six and even seven storeys in height, many being of wood, and several are fine edifices of brick, stone, and iron, the roads are wide, straight, and in good order, and water is laid on by means of pipes to all the houses. The mosques, for instance that of the Heretics, is very fine and well frequented, but the ministers are often schismatics.

There are many Hindu temples and Christian Churches, and the Fire-houses of the Parsees are fine and high, being visible from a great distance. The most celebrated of the mosques is the Jama Masjid, built by a merchant named Muhammad Sa-id; it is three storeys in height, and large and imposing in appearance; the Christian Church near Fort Victoria is a massive building. The Fort used to have three walls and three ditches one within the other, but the English Rulers finding that the buildings within the Fort

belonged to rich people and were very crowded, had the walls removed, filled up the ditches with earth, and levelled the ground, which was sold in building plots to the rich, at high prices, and another Fort was built on some high ground on an island. Grafted mangoes, Concan plantains, dates from Muscat and Basra, and many kinds of fish, are sold here; and all other fruits, both fresh and dried, and all kinds of provisions and wines, clothes and articles, &c., which it would take long to enumerate, are to be had in abundance, but everything is very expensive. In Bombay there are neither elephants nor camels, and but few palanquins; all the people, from the highest to the lowest, drive in carriages, and some also ride on horseback; even if a thousand carriages were wanted for hire, they could be procured. Arab horses are to be had at all prices from Rs. 300 to Rs. 3,000, or Rs. 4,000 each. The prosperity of the city has doubled, since shops from all nations have come there, Arabs, Persians, Turks, Turanians, Chinese, Europeans, and Hindustanis from all parts of India can be recognized by their costumes, and are met with in numbers in every street and coffee-house.

The Town Hall is a Government building, very spacious and well arranged. Every Wednesday the Governor of Bombay goes there and transacts public business. This handsome edifice is beautifully fitted with chandeliers, and the floors are covered with expensive carpets. In one large Chamber—the assembly room—there is on one side a marble statue of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, and opposite a statue of some very distinguished European gentleman. The walls of this apartment are hung in an appropriate manner with portraits of Indian Rajas and Kings of every country. In one room there is a portrait of Sir John Malcolm,* who was born in 1772, and died in 1833 A.D. There are also the bodies of a man and child,

* Sir John Malcolm's is a name very familiar in Central India, where he was the first representative of the British Government.

and the head of an elephant* preserved by the effects of some unguent, so that their life-like appearance continues unchanged; they are kept in glass cases. Adjoining this room is another in which are stuffed birds and animals, so arranged as to appear alive. Also there is a steel quoit of some Sikh of the Akáli tribe, which thrown from the finger in the Panjab war would kill a man. A cannon ball of a gun of Dewan Mulraj, Governor of Multan, and his quiver, bow and coat of mail are preserved as memorials of him. And an English inscription round the cornice informs us that the foundations of this building were laid in 1802, and that it was completed in 1823 A.D.

Among other places worth mentioning is the Dock (Godi), in which both steamers and sailing-vessels are constructed, and in the iron and wooden factories attached are made all the iron and woodwork required in ship-building. The Dock is like a large trench on the sea-shore, with a very large door, which is kept shut. The tide on the sea-shore rises and falls twice a day, and when a new ship is completed, the gate is opened to let in the rising tide, and the Dock fills with water, on which the ship is floated out to sea. Afterwards the gates are again closed, and the water is pumped out again. There are large numbers of both steamers and sailing-vessels in this port, but under Government orders, the steamers are gradually superseding the other vessels. We paid a visit to a mail-steamer, which was 350 yards long and very wide, it contained numbers of state rooms and bath rooms, all beautifully fitted up, and there appeared plenty of accommodation for people to live separately, and also for stowing away baggage; all necessary stores for eating, drinking, and clothing were ready provided.

The Mint is well worth seeing. Here are iron lathes and instruments for stamping the obverse and reverse of the rupee; crucibles for melting the silver, and for distinguishing between pure and alloyed silver, rollers for rolling the silver to the proper thickness, for cutting out circular pieces for

rupees, clippers and instruments for polishing, and grind-stones for sharpening the tools, also very large vessels, in which silver to the weight of Rs. 14,000 can be melted at once, and balances in the scales of which Rs. 10,000 can be accurately weighed. All these things we saw, and besides the above, we inspected many other machines which would not only be tedious to describe, but the uses of which cannot be understood without special knowledge.

There are many gardens and other places worth seeing and deserving of mention, especially the cotton weaving and spinning factories, and those for the manufacture of plain and coloured fabrics; the casual observer, ignorant of the uses of the machines and appliances at work, is filled with wonder at the sight.

On the opposite shore of the bay is a lofty tower, with one bastion, surmounted by a glazed chamber, in which lamps are set by night. It is said that, at night-time, sailors can distinguish their light at a distance of 100 miles, and thus know that they have come near to Bombay. Near this lighthouse is a building, containing a large telescope, by which the real appearance of the stars can be observed, and there is also an instrument for gauging the heat of the sun.

Besides the English gentlemen and great merchants, the Consul of the Sultan of Turkey, and the Vakil of the Shah of Persia, Aghai Khan, son-in-law of Fath Ali Shah, late Shah of Persia, are persons of distinction, who live at this Port. Mulla Firoz, son of Mulla Káus, was one of the principal Parsis of this place, he was author of the George-namah, a book in three parts, written in the Dari Persian tongue, containing a history of the Kings at London, an account of the conquest of India and of the battles between the English and the Indians in 40,000 couplets, after the manner of the Shahnamah.

On the 18th of Ramzan, I availed myself of the permission accorded by the Governor-General, and left by railway

on a tour to Surat and Ahmadabad in Guzerat. The train started at 7 o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Surat at 5 in the evening. In the journey we passed over nearly 150 bridges of iron, three or four of which were very large.

The country on each side of the line consisted principally of forest and cocoanut and date palm groves, with only a small proportion of cultivated land. On our arrival at Surat, an official reception, with all the honours, was given us by the Judge, and we were honoured by a salute. A stay of one day was made to visit the places of interest. I met the ladies of the family of Mulla Najmuddin, the Chief of all the Bohras, and he was civil enough to lend us two carriages and to entertain us with dinner. As is the custom of his family, he sent several pieces of cloth, &c., for the acceptance of myself, the Nawab, and the First Minister, and so pressing was he that we were obliged to keep them.

During the reign of the Emperors of Delhi and Kings of Gujerat, there was no port in Hindustan, to compare with Surat, and the Admirals of this port were among the most illustrious and renowned of the courtiers of the above-mentioned Sovereigns; but now the city is fallen into decay, and most of its inhabitants are poor and in want, and though the quarters, occupied by the Bohras and Parsis, are somewhat more prosperous, the remainder of the city gives rise to melancholy reflections. There is a tradition that when the sacred fire of "Paras" was quenched by the cold steel of the heroes of Islam, a band of Parsis, flying from their native country, took refuge in Surat, whither they have migrated to Bombay.

The Bohras belong to the Ismailian sect, which is a branch of the Shia religion; Mulla Najmuddin, who is their head, lives in semi-regal splendour. An account of these tenets and their followers is to be found in the History of Egypt, called Almawaiz'-wal'-Hibar, of which Takuddin of Makrez is the author. The subject is there treated at great length, and an abstract of it has been made by

Mulavi Muhammad'Abbas (the Sublime) in his pamphlet "Amdatulakhbar."

The serai or travellers' rest-house, built in the time of the Emperor Shahjahan, is still standing, and the following inscription in verse is carved round the arch of the entrance gateway—

> In the name of the Creator of the Sun and Moon,
> In the reign of the Emperor Shajahan,
> There was built by a lord full of truth
> This building, in appearance an Inn, in reality a Heaven.
> For the date of this building this voice descended from the Sky,
> "Blessed is this Inn, a building of truth."

The Fort of Surat was built in the reign of Mahmud Shah, King of Gujarat, the annalist of whose reign has given the height of the gateway of the Fort at 35 cubits, and its breadth at 15 cubits, with the breadth of the ditch at 20 cubits. There were four doors firmly fixed into the wall with lead, and the masonry of the walls was clamped together with iron; but now owing to the uses it has been put to by the British Government its appearance is quite changed. Several offices have been built in it, and one or two wall-pieces on a bastion are all that remains of the Fort.

The hospital built by the English is a fine building; there are many other buildings now in ruins; and many spaces within the city walls are given up to cultivation.

After a stay of one day, we proceeded by train, which started at 7 A.M. to Ahmadabad, which was reached at sunset. The country, along the line, was level; the bridge which spans the Narbada at Broach, is very fine. We passed the Baroda station also. On our arrival at the Ahmadabad station, we were received officially by the Judge and the Deputy Collector, and a salute was fired in our honour; we alighted at the house of Jey Singh Bhai, one of the principal bankers in the place. The Deputy Collector entertained us with an excellent repast. Our stay lasted two days, and before our departure many purchases were made. We visited the Fort

of Beder, the Jama Masjid, the tombs of Ahmad Shah and his wives and children, and Shah Alam, and the well of seven storeys.

The Fort of Beder is no longer in its original condition, the British Government has rebuilt it after a new fashion: and converted it into a prison factory, the products of which, *viz.*, carpets, caps, durrees, stockings, &c., were shown to us. There are some Burmese prisoners in this jail, whose bodies from their waist to the knee were tattoed in blue in imitation of drawers, square pieces of gold and silver were inserted in their arms above the elbow, the flesh having been cut for the purpose, and the whole of their breasts were tattoed in red also, which appears to be the fashion in that country.

Ahmadabad in Gujerat enjoys rather a good climate, the roads are broad, but it is full of ruinous houses whose owners have long since passed away. The date of the foundation of this city is to be found in the word (Kher) خیر and Mulla Halavi of Shiraz wrote in the Ahmadnamah, a historical poem, that Nasir-uddin Ahmad Shah of Gujarat founded it in the month of Zikat 813 A.H. On Tuesday the 8th of the month Safar 1194 A.H. it passed from the Agents of the King of Delhi into the hands of the English. Large quantities of silk and kincob of good quality used to be made here and exported for sale to other cities, but this manufacture has fallen off.

The Jama Masjid, the finest building in the city, excited our admiration: it is said that the date of its building makes the word خیر (well). Munshi Sikandar, author of the Ama-i-Sakandar, has given the measurements of this mosque as follows: The length, exclusive of the courtyard and rooms on the north and south, 100* yards: the breadth, exclusive of the courtyard, 50 yards, width of courtyard 120 yards; width of both wings, north and south, 20 yards. There are 352 pillars in the mosque, exclusive of the royal

* Gaz (or yard) of Akbar measured 33 inches.

apartment, wherein are 12 columns, and 8 columns in the throne-room, in both north and south wings 212 columns. In each of the gateways, east, north and south, there are 32 columns. On the top of the dome 98 columns, exclusive of the rooms to the north and south. There are 77 large gateways, 20 smaller doorways, 57 staircases, and each of the two minarets is 186 yards high, and contains 93 columns.

The mosque and college of Shah Alam, who was a very holy Darvesh, are very spacious, and his garden and tomb, tasteful and beautiful. It is stated in the annals of Mahmud Shah, that Mahmud of Gujarat made a forest called the "Deer Park," two Parasangs* in circumference, and a garden outside the city, named "The Paradise," 10 miles (= 5 coss) in width; but though we went to the spot, we failed to discover a single trace of these places.

On the 23rd Ramzan, we left Ahmadabad by rail at 7 A.M., and at 10 o'clock the same night reached Bombay, where we made a stay of four days and made some miscellaneous purchases. We also visited the buildings before mentioned, and in company with the Political Agent went over a steamer. It was at this time that we heard of the destruction by fire at Mundwa, near Khundwa, of the property in my own Toshakhana, and that of my daughter, of the Nawab, and of the First Minister: also of the carpets and of our wardrobes, and the baggage of our attendants, which had been despatched by rail to Bhopal, under the charge of Bakshi Hafiz Muhammad Hassan Khan, andall this damage was owing to the carelessness of the Bakshi, whose services were therefore dispensed with. The value of the property destroyed amounted to Rs. 64,655-1-0, in addition to which my private records, consisting of our secret and public despatches, our register of letters despatched, and the papers relating to the receipt of the Star of India, both by myself and by my mother, were all burnt. On the

* Parasang = 18,000 feet.

26th Ramzan, we left Bombay by the 10 A.M. train, and arrived at Etarsi at 8 o'clock the next morning. We crossed the Narbada, and stayed for two days in the town of Budni, where we celebrated the religious festival of the Ede-ul-Fitr. Thence we marched by ordinary stages to Bhopal, which we safely entered on the 5th Shawal. The expenses of this tour amounted to Rs. 41,295-11-3 according to the following detail:—

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Office expenses and private expenses ... | 12,745 | 14 | 4 |
| Travelling expenses, carriage hire, lodgings ... | 13,742 | 4 | 3 |
| Purchases ... ... ... ... | 9,216 | 7 | 0 |
| Presents, entertainments and charities ... | 5,591 | 1 | 6 |

# CHAPTER V.

## TRUE HISTORY OF THE MIRAZI KHAIL, THE INCOME AND EXPENSES OF THE STATE, AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC OFFICES AND JAGHIRDARS, AND A CENSUS OF THE INHABITANTS AND HOUSES IN THE TERRITORIES OF BHOPAL.

IN Afghanistan there are hundreds of clans of Pathans, one of which is the Gurrán, regarding the origin of which there are many legends, the most trustworthy being the following, which also is that given in the Hayát Afgháni. Abdulla Khan Umar found a new-born child on the ground occupied on the previous night by a Kafila, who had departed that morning. He brought up this foundling as his own son, naming him Gurran; and, when he grew up, gave him his daughter in marriage, and the clans which are descended from him are known as the Gurraní clans. The Dalázák, Aurakzai, Afrídí, Khanak, Wazíri Atman Khail, are all offshoots of the Gurrani stock. (This is not the Garran commonly supposed to be the son of Kais Abdul Rashid.) Gurran had two sons, Kodi and Kaki, of whom Kodi had two wives, from the senior of whom sprung the Aurukzai and some 56 other clans, one of which is the Mírazí Khail, an offshoot of the Mani Khail, a branch of

the Muhammad Khail, which again is a branch of the Daulatzai an offshoot of the Aurakzai Khail. The Pushtu History tells us that the derivation of the word Mirazi Khail is from Mir Azíz Khail. There was a man of this tribe named Salah Muhammad Khan, whose wife, by name Fatima, was the daughter of an Amir, and her descendants were according to the custom of Afghanistan first known as the Fatima Khail. I count my pedigree from Dost Muhammad Khan, son of Nur Muhammad Khan of the Fatima Khail branch of the Mírazí Khail, who was the founder of the Bhopal State as can be seen from the accompanying tree.

In former times, there was no fixed income derived from the Bhopal territory, of which the revenues varied greatly owing to its being so much subdivided, and in addition torn by wars and dissensions. At present the annual revenue amounts to Rs. 26,83,384-1-0, of which Rs. 10,93,978-12-6 form no part of the state income but is the property of Jaghirdars. 15,475 bigahs 15 biswas of land are enjoyed rent-free by 1,364 hereditary maafídars, and Rs. 15,89,405-4-6 are paid into the state treasury. From this must be deducted two lakhs of rupees annual tribute for the pay of the Bhopal Battalion. Rs. 4,250 contribution to the Sehore School, Rs. 600 contribution to the Sehore Jail, and Rs. 600 to the Hospital at the same place: Rs. 8,09,383-14-0 are expended in payment of salaries for the civil and military establishment, numbering 6,105 persons. There remains the cost of Toshakhana, public buildings, and roads, alms, cost of the animals of the stable, elephants, bullocks and camels, and of the state storehouse, where the grain, &c., is kept, enough for one year's consumption being bought at one time, as well as grass, firewood, and other necessary expenses, the detail of which would be tedious. In short, income and expenditure nearly balance, sometimes the expenditure exceeds the income, if there has been any great occasion to celebrate, and sometimes by reason of the expenses being less than the

*To face page* 181.]

estimate, there is a balance at the end of the year, and instalments are arranged out of these balances to defray the loans of other years.

The following is an account of the Departments, Offices and factories of the State, exclusive of inferior and subordinate offices. The first is the Department of the First Minister. It is here that cases of every description, Revenue, Civil and Criminal, which are beyond the jurisdiction of the three Nazims (Commissioners), are both instituted and decided, and here also appeals from the three Commissioners are decided. The proceedings of the Civil and Criminal Courts of Bhopal in cases beyond their jurisdiction are reviewed in my own Court, and are remitted from my Court to that of the First Minister for the purpose of having the judgment drawn up. The First Minister passes final orders on such cases as are within his competence, and on such as are beyond his powers draws out a judgment for approval, which is sent on to me for final disposal, and the final orders are issued from my Court. A general supervision and inspection of the cases and proceedings of all subordinate Courts, the bringing to account all the Revenues of the State, all public affairs, great and small, the Military Department, the three Divisional Offices, and the Customs, all fall within the cognizance of this office.

*The Civil Court.*—Here the civil suits, both parties to which reside within the Bhopal State, are instituted, and, after preliminaries have been settled, most of the suits for money lent are decided by arbitration. The suits of Muhammadans are regulated by Fatwas of Muhammadan law, and the affairs of Hindus are determined in accordance with the Dharm Shastras. Deeds relating to real property, to second marriages among certain classes of Hindus, and arrears of Government revenue, are all within the cognizance of this Court.

*The Criminal Court.*—Where all criminal cases from the city of Bhopal itself are instituted and decided according

to the local code. The Police-station of Jahangirabad is subordinate to this Court, also the lock-up and prisons for life-convicts and sentenced prisoners of shorter terms; the sanitation of the streets, and the police outposts round the city and on the roads, the furnishing supplies to English visitors, &c., and the making of arrests, and also the reporting all that takes place in the city, are all comprised in the duties of this office, and so are the public sales of derelict property, or of property confiscated on criminal convictions, and the publishing of the prices current of food-grain, and the lighting of all the streets of the city in which lamp-posts have been erected, and the forwarding of prisoners to the Court of the Political Agent at Sehore or to the Districts of Bhopal.

*The Office of the Kazi.*—In this office, besides the performance of marriage ceremonies and the superintendence of the slaughter-houses, opinions in accordance with Mahomedan law are taken on all civil and criminal cases.

*The Mufti's Office.*—This is for testing the opinions given by the Kazi to make sure of there being no mistakes in matter of the divine law.

*The General Customs Office* has a very large establishment; the superintendents of customs of the city and of all the parganas, and the preventive officers of the whole of the territories of Bhopal are subject to it, and the taxes levied on all dutiable articles according to the schedules in force are paid in annually to the State Treasury by the General Superintendent, who has a general control over all the offices of his subordinates, which he has to visit and inspect.

*The Council.*—Here appeals from decisions in civil, criminal and revenue cases are heard, and here important matters of State requiring deliberation are discussed; here Heads of Departments, Commissioners and others tender their written opinions, and after perusal final orders are passed by the Ruler.

*The Vakil's Office.*—The Head of this Department, known

as the Vakil of the State, with his clerks and foot and mounted escort, are stationed at Sehore in attendance on the Political Agent, and there pass through his office all the correspondence with the British Government and the communications made by this State to the Political Agent at Sehore, the Agent to the Governor-General at Indore, the Supreme Government of India, and the Government of Her Majesty in London. Practically in all the relations with the British Government this State is concerned with these personages—first, the Political Agent, secondly, the Agent to the Governor-General, and thirdly, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India; and its intercourse with other gentlemen is of an unofficial and friendly nature.

The Commissioner of the Southern Division, with his establishment of clerks and sawars and sepoys, has his head-quarters at Kaliakheri. Every year he has to inspect his division, which contains subordinate to him six tahsildars, six thannadars and the Superintendent of revenue survey, and his staff, and the Superintendent of the Gannur forest, which contains timber fit for all building purposes. The forest is divided into two classes—the reserved, which supplies wood for Government purposes, and the unreserved, whence people are allowed to cut timber on payment of a fee, and this wood is brought for sale to Bhopal and other towns. This department is administered by a Superintendent of forests, an educated man, who has under him messengers and preventive officers. The cost of the establishment amounts to Rs. 4,000 per annum. The head-quarters of the Eastern Division are at Raisen, and there are eight tahsils and thannas subordinate to this commissionership, besides the Superintendent of survey, as in the Southern Division.

The Commissioner of the Western Division has his office at Bairesia, and besides his complement of clerks, sawars, and sepoys, has seven tahsildars and seven thannadars under him.

*The Office of the Paymaster-General.*—The Paymaster-General is the Commander-in-chief of the army, and there

is a large establishment of clerks and accountants; all salaries from the State are paid through this office, and an official in this department is always kept in attendance on me. It is his duty under my orders to take down descriptive rolls and the dates of first employment and dismissal of officials, and orders for the distribution of military duties; and it is the special duty of another accountant to check the monthly pay-bills of all the establishments, and to keep the registers of receipts and expenditure of the Paymaster-General's Office according to the proper headings. The Paymaster-General himself attends to questions of administration, such as committees' reports, punishments for absence without leave, and insubordination of soldiers and others according to military discipline.

The Superintendent of Dispensaries is at the head of all medical employés* and native doctors† in the State of Bhopal, both in the city and in the interior, and is over all the dispensaries where medicines are supplied to the sick. The subordinate officers in charge keep a register of the expenditure of medicine, and of the cure of the sick, with columns for their names, the names of the diseases and the prescriptions given, which are forwarded every month for the inspection of the principal medical officer. There are 29 medical men in the city of Bhopal, and 16 in charge of dispensaries in the interior; altogether 45 medical men in the pay of the Bhopal State.

*Office for the Disposal of Suits of long Standing.*—On account of the large number of arrears in some of the offices of Bhopal itself and of the divisional offices, at the end of Rajab, 1288 A. H., a chief superintendent for these cases, with staff, was appointed for Bhopal, and under him three superintendents and staff for the three Divisions in order to work off these long standing arrears; and from the first of Shaban in that year, orders were issued that every

* According to the Native Practice of Medicine.

† According to the European Practice.

head of department was expected to decide cases before him within three months of their institution.

*The Office of Annuitants, Pensioners, Recipients of Charity and Alms.*—Persons with claims under the above headings receive their pay from this department under the control of an inspector.

*The (Seh-krohi) (6 miles) Office.*—The head of this department enjoys the powers of a thanadar over a radius of six miles in every direction round the city of Bhopal, and on occasions collects labourers and carts at a fixed rate of 1½ annas per 2 miles from villages situated within the above limits.

*The Offices of Fort Commandants.*—There are four of these offices and four commandants, first, that of Fatehgarh; secondly, of the Citadel; thirdly, of the Old Fort; fourthly, of the town rampart of Bhopal: they are in command of a force of soldiers and artillerymen, and have the defence of the city gates. The fort and the bastions are entrusted to them according to long standing custom. They also have to attend to the opening and closing of the gates of the fort and of the city walls at the proper time, and send the keys to the Ruler, besides which they are responsible for their respective charges, night and day.

*The Office of the Second Minister (Motimidulmaham).*—The receipts and expenditure of all the State used to be examined in this office; revenue leases were drawn here, and statements of balances due from the land were prepared, and appropriate orders passed thereon to the Commissioners and Collectors of revenue. It was here that complaints against the First Minister and his subordinates were enquired into, and rules of practice for the different offices compiled and discussed. The drawing up of forms of agreement on the part of employés in the various public offices, or for general use in Bhopal, were considered, and regulations of every kind in force in British territory were reported to the Ruler and discussed between her and the Second Minister. The Terms on which estates were to be

renewed on succession, alterations in the rates of customs duties; remissions, &c., duties entered as leviable, the framing of rules for the realization of land revenue from the villages; the destruction of old records with the sanction of the Ruler; the annual preparation of yearly estimate of receipts and expenditure for the State of Bhopal at the commencement of each Fasli year; the preparation of Writs of Demand of the four revenue instalments; the payment of each State debt; the preparation of statements of expenses not included in the estimate; the reporting on cases in his own jurisdiction when called upon to do so by the Ruler; the computation of the daily, weekly, and annual expenses of the State; the annual inspection of the revenue, civil and criminal offices in Bhopal itself; investigations of embezzlement and misappropriation in revenue cases; the supervision of the survey establishment; the settling of the cases of Jaghirdars of the State; and the disposal of important revenue cases, were all duties of the Second Minister. On the first day of Safar, 1289 A. H., this office was abolished, as narrated in the fourth chapter, and the duties which used to be performed there were distributed among the offices of the Council, the First Minister, and the Ruler, with as much convenience as possible in order that they might be rapidly, easily, and properly disposed of.

*The Court of Appeal* was for the hearing of civil and criminal appeals, and for having security taken from convicts at the time of their release. On the establishment of the Court of the Council, there was no further work for this Court, which was accordingly abolished, and appeals were transferred to the Court of the Council.

*The Office of Public Buildings.*—Labourers, masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths are employed in this office, and construct all State buildings, and over them there is a sort of Chief Engineer, who looks after them, and has an account made out at the end of the year, which is laid before me.

*The Office of Steward.* — The Steward has charge of

the carpet house, the elephant house, the coach houses, camel houses, bullock cart houses, stables, and similar offices and the domestic servants, such as mace-bearers, chaprassis, sweepers, torch-bearers, and porters, &c.

*The Office of Roads.*—There are two superintendents—one for the roads and bridges in cross country roads, and the other to look after the new road in course of construction between Bhopal and Hoshangabad.

*The Office of Store-keeper of Fatehgarh.*—In this office, the superintendent, clerks, porters, weighman, &c., are employed; a whole year's supply of grains of all kinds and provisions are bought and kept there, and a day's consumption is given out every day.

*The Office of the Annals.*—All events and State reforms of sufficient importance to be recorded are noted in this office.

*The Inshaya Office is the special Court of the Ruler.*—Here, under direction of the Ruler, all final orders on petitions, decisions of civil, criminal and revenue cases, orders to heads of department, the Vakil, State officers, members of my family and to all subordinates are drawn up and issued as from my person. *Verbatim* copies of orders, and abstracts of petitions are deposited in the record-room. The compositions of memoranda (yaddasht) and of despatches belong to this Office, as well as testimonials to deserving officers and orders to the Collectors to realize arrears of revenue. The statements enumerated below are received in this office, and are examined by me, and are returned with appropriate orders passed on them, viz., the weekly statement of income and expenditure of the workshops; weekly account of the magazine; weekly account of the stores of the Fatehgarh toshakhanna; a register of petty offences; weekly account of receipts and expenditure of the Commissariat Department; register of grain imports and sales; register of petty offences of the thanna of Jahangirabad; weekly account of receipts and expenditure of the First Minister's office; weekly receipts of

grain in the Government store-room; register of arrivals and departures of travellers; weekly cash account of the Fatehgarh store-room; diaries of the Civil and Criminal Courts; reports of the four forts of Bhopal; reports of the Police outposts; daily statement of arrivals and departures of residents of Bhopal and strangers; weekly receipts and expenditures in the Building Department; register of prisoners undergoing sentence in the three Prisons; register of releases of prisoners from each of the three Prisons; weekly account of receipts and expenditure of the Customs Department; register of release of prisoners under orders of the Council Court; register of flour ground in the Fatehgarh store-room; registers of under-trial prisoners, short term and life convicts, which are kept in our own Court; statement of fines and processes issued against our public servants; statement of entertainment and discharge of public servants; register of Customs receipts; register of officers who have been discharged for some offence with orders against their re-employment; register of proclaimed offenders; statement of commendatory letters arranged annually; list of the names of the Commissioners (Nazims), tahsildars and thanadars; roster of duty of the mace-bearers, messengers and other menial servants; statement of rewards for shooting tigers or panthers.

*The Office of the "Hazúr Daftar."*—The total annual income and expenditure of the State are filed in this office and examined, and one balance sheet for the whole State is made out, which is signed by the Ruler after revision. Grants of estates and Government cheques on the treasury are all drawn out in this office; statements of balances according to villages; accounts of receipts and expenditure according to parganas, lists of remitted items; statements of disputed items of revenue of State and the deeds of grant of estates to maafidars, are all prepared in this office.

*The General Record Office* is where all Revenue and Political records present and past are kept, and after the

lapse of three years, all records of decided cases are transferred hither from other offices, the papers being compared with the indices. Those papers which are useless and not worth preserving, are torn up under the orders of the Ruler. The papers relating to rent-free tenures and the papers regarding loss to the State by errors of survey, or of boundary measurements are prepared from the records of the boundary and other surveys of the State.

*The Sulemaniya College* is named after the late Suleman Jahan Begam, the author's younger daughter: It contains an Arabic, a Persian, a mathematical, an Urdu, a Hindi, Nagri, and an English department. There is also a library of useful books in this chief college, containing works mostly of a scientific character, and there are 17 schoolmasters and schools in the towns subordinate to the superintendent of this institution: Half yearly examinations of the scholars are held. That after the first six months by the most learned men in the country, and that at the end of the year in my own presence. The results of the examination are recorded, and prizes are distributed according to the deserts of the boys. There are 64 school masters and 48 schools in this State. For scholars in the Sulemaniya college there are allowances of clothes and food made, in order that students whose homes are at a distance may apply themselves to the acquisition of knowledge untrammelled by the cares of earning their livelihood, and that they may not be under the necessity of returning to their distant homes before attaining a sound education, likewise service and monthly stipends are given according to the fitness of the candidates to such as wish to enter public employment after their course of study is completed. The teaching staff has been selected with the view of securing the highest abilities in order that both secular and religious instruction may be properly taught and imparted, and in the choice of books for the library, care was taken that both literary, secular and religious works should find a place.

*The Victoria School* is for orphans who are taught to make gold and silver lace of every description, and to make braid and lace, fringes, plaits, patterns in stars and flowered patterns and silver wire and gold embroidered caps; shawl weaving, and shoemaking are also taught. The children are clothed and fed at the expense of the State, and skilled workmen in these arts are employed to teach them, and all are subordinate to a superintendent.

*The Prince of Wales School.* — In this the staff consists of a principal and workmen. Durrees, weaving, "newar," hearthrugs, muslin embroidery, tent making, knitting, sewing in all its branches, woollen slippers, silver plating and gilding, are taught to boys who used to receive from one to two annas a day but from the first of Rabiul-akhir 1289 A. H., monthly payments have been substituted for the daily wages paid to the boys of this institution and also for the food and clothes formerly given to the orphans in the *Victoria School* and regular estimates are now made out for the yearly cost. Each student is examined in his own handicraft.

*The Sikandra Press* is named after the late Sikandar Begam. Here proclamations and forms, &c, for the use of the State are printed, and they are examined and compared by the superintendent.

*The Sultani Press* is named after the Nawab Sultan Begam, heiress-apparent to the State. There is a superintendent and staff, besides the press workmen. Here all the stamps required in all the offices of the State of Bhopal are printed.

*The Shahjahani Press* is named after the Author. From this press there is published a weekly newspaper called the Amdat-al Akhbar,* which contains extracts from English and Native newspapers, and the latest news in Bhopal, also articles on science and history, poetry

* This publication has been discontinued.

and panegyrics. Certain school books also are printed here.

*Hay Stacks and Woodhouse.* — A year's supply of grass and wood is here stored and issued.

*Office of the Inspector of Gardens.*—This official has charge of all the State gardens. He is responsible for their being well kept, and for the sale of the flowers and fruits, &c., and the gardeners, labourers, waterdrawers, &c., are all under his orders, and are permanent servants.

*The Magazine.*—To which is attached the armoury. All the powder expended in salutes and in the drill of the troops, &c., is made under the orders of the officer in charge.

*The Mint.*—This is under the care of Lala Lalji the State Treasurer. Bankers and others, on payment of a fixed scale of charges, have silver and copper coined, and the State also coins as many rupees and pice as there is occasion for.

*The Treasury.*—The whole of the revenues of the State are paid into the treasury. The treasurer keeps daybooks of expenditure and receipts, and of the accounts of bankers on whom bills have been drawn from the interior on account of revenue. These are made up under his immediate superintendence. A weekly statement of receipts and expenditure is forwarded by him to the Ruler, and at the end of the year an account showing payments made under cheques issued by the Ruler from the "Daftar Hazur," also the pay bills of the Government servants, in fact all accounts kept in the treasury, are made up, and a Balance sheet is laid before the Ruler.

*The Toshakhana.*—It is the duty of the Chief officer under the orders of the Ruler to buy or have made up all articles required for the use of certain departments, such as the carpet house and elephant house. Cloth and jewels, &c., required for the State are submitted by him for the approval of the Ruler, and such as are selected are

bought; and at the end of the year, the accounts of this office are made out and submitted to the Daftar Hazur.

*The Post Office.*—Fomerly in this district there was one inspector, four District Post office clerks and 35 postmen, giving a total of 40 employés. The postmen used to be employed in carrying public letters from Bhopal to the three Divisional offices, and from thence papers were carried to the tahsils by the village watchmen. The cost of the above establishment amounted to Rs. 4,268-4-3 per annum. With the view of promoting the convenience of officials and the public, from the 15th Rabi-ul-awul 1289 A.H., arrangements for post offices after the English plan were extended throughout Bhopal Territory. The provision for the cost by the sale of postage stamps on letters, and all other matters were copied from the British Post office regulations. Rs. 14,208 is the amount of the annual pay of 229 post office employés, and Rs. 659-11-6, the cost of pen, ink and paper, making a total annual cost of Rs. 14,877-11-6 under this head.

*Mosques, Tombs, and Charities.*—Under these three headings there are many servants; in the mosques muezzins, readers, watermen and sweepers, and at the tombs of the late Rulers of Bhopal, readers of the Koran, sweepers, and attendants are employed, and in the hospitals for the lame, cooks, scullions and watermen are allowed, then twice every day certain kinds of food are cooked, and distributed in God's name to fakirs, to the neighbouring poor and to wayfarers. Corn also is given to the poor and to widows and cripples; hundreds of poor people are relieved as a duty owed to God. Every year the accounts are furnished by the superintendent to the Hazur Daftar. Now, however, since the first Muharram 1290 A.H., at the request of the poor and necessitous themselves uncooked food, but the same in quantity as before has been substituted for cooked food.

*Jaghirdars* in this State are of four classes—the first class contains four distinguished individuals whose joint income amounts to Rs. 7,39,500-14 as follows:—

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st.—Estate of the Nawab Kudsia Begam ... | 4,98,642 | 6 | 0 |
| 2nd.—The author of this history, the Ruler of Bhopal ... ... .. | 1,10,091 | 8 | 3 |
| 3rd.—The Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam, heir-apparent ... .. ... | 55,294 | 5 | 6 |
| 4th.—The Nawab Wala Jah Amir ul Mulk ... | 75,472 | 10 | 3 |

The large Jaghirdars which form the second class comprise 16 persons with an aggregate assignment of the public revenues amounting to Rs. 2,17,156-8-6.

| | Rs. | As. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mian Yasén Muhammad Khan ... ... | 24,077 | 5 | 0 |
| The Bibí Sahiba, widow of Hakím Shahzad Massih ... ... ... ... | 58,410 | 13 | 3 |
| The Madar-ul-Maham (First Minister) ... | 28,972 | 14 | 0 |
| Mian Faiz Muhammad Khan ... ... | 21,028 | 6 | 9 |
| Mian Yar Muhammad Khan ... ... | 13,941 | 15 | 6 |
| Mian Hatim Muhammad Khan ... ... | 12,280 | 14 | 0 |
| Lala Chandu Lal ... ... ... | 12,079 | 6 | 0 |
| Raja Kishen Ram's daughter . ... | 6,004 | 0 | 9 |
| Raja Amar Singh ... ... ... | 19,980 | 0 | 0 |
| Khushal Sahay Gond ... ... ... | 4,622 | 5 | 0 |
| Rani Naval Koonwur, widow of Murdan Shah Gond ... ... ... ... | 8,555 | 13 | 0 |
| Widow of Thakur Sabhag Singh ... ... | 5,450 | 0 | 0 |
| Raja Mazbut Singh ... ... ... | 8,018 | 3 | 0 |
| Raja Madhakar Sahäy Gond ... ... | 6,425 | 0 | 0 |
| Raja Lachman Singh ... ... ... | 3,203 | 2 | 0 |
| Raja Partab Singh ... ... ... | 10,246 | 7 | 0 |

The third class of Jaghirdars consists of the average holders of lands valued at not less than Rs. 1,000 annually, and the fourth class comprises all petty owners of less than Rs. 1,000 income. There are 157 persons in these two classes and land producing Rs. 1,37,331-6-3 annual revenue is

held by them. These assignments of revenue have been made by the State for several reasons: *firstly,* the three distinguished persons of the first class because of their claims hereditary and otherwise on the State; *secondly,* the relatives of the Ruler by reason of that relationship; *thirdly,* to loyal servants in return for services rendered; *fourthly,* the Jaghirdars of long standing who have received their jaghirs from former Rulers before the commencement of my reign, and are now my obedient servants; *fifthly,* holy men and fakirs in the name of God; *sixthly,* certain civil and military officers on account of their loyalty and devotion.

Princes, although they are lords of their entire dominions, yet they are in the habit of receiving separate provision from their dominions, either in the shape of crown lands or money payments, and indeed it is only lately that a list of the princes given below with the sums allowed them by Parliament, or a fixed monthly allowance, has been published in the Nayyara newspaper: Emperor of Russia, Rs. 14,16,668-8-0; Sultan of Turkey, Rs. 10,83,933-5-0; Emperor of France, Rs. 8,66,666-10-0; the Emperor of Austria, Rs. 6,66,660-10-8; King of Prussia, 1,00,000; King of Italy, Rs. 4,00,000; Queen of England and India, Rs. 1,16,666; King of Spain, Rs. 3,00,000; King of Belgium, Rs. 1,00,000; the President of the United States of America, Rs. 4,166-10-8; and in like manner in this State lands have always been appropriated out of the public domains for the necessary expenditure of Rulers past and present, but now, from the beginning of 1280 Fasli, I surrendered my own domain, and appropriated a fixed sum of one lac of rupees a year for my private expenses, and added a fixed sum of Rs. 25,000 a year to the Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam's estate out of the public revenue.

The following is a tabulated statement of the census of houses and human beings in the territories belonging to Bhopal, which was taken in 1275 Fasli (1-9 1868 A.D. at the request of the Political Agent at Sehore:—

*Statement of Census of Houses and Persons of the whole of the Bhopal Territories except the Kudsia Begam's Jaghir.*

| Name of District. | Number of Parganas. | Number of Cities, Towns, and Villages. | | | | Number of houses. | Number of Persons. | | | | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Cities. | Towns. | Villages. | Total. | | Men. | Boys. | Women. | Girls. | |
| Bhopal ... ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | 1 | 7,292 | 12,515 | 6,710 | 13,062 | 5,252 | 37,539 |
| Southern Division ... ... | 8 | ... | 8 | 614 | 622 | 37,832 | 45,787 | 37,654 | 43,210 | 31,254 | 1,57,905 |
| Eastern Division ... ... | 12 | ... | 12 | 943 | 955 | 46,182 | 57,004 | 50,418 | 53,671 | 39,507 | 2,00,600 |
| Western Division ... ... | 10 | ... | 10 | 977 | 787 | 63,452 | 64,444 | 49,030 | 60,764 | 35,941 | 2,09,579 |
| Total ... | 30 | 1 | 30 | 2,534 | 2,565 | 1,54,758 | 1,79,750 | 1,43,812 | 1,70,707 | 1,11,954 | 6,05,623 |
| The following is the Census of Houses and Persons furnished by the Nawab Kudsia Begam for her estate. | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 35,253 | 42,200 | 30,775 | 41,221 | 24,723 | 1,38,919 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 7,44,542 |

The census of the city of Bhopal was taken by my orders under the superintendence of Munshi Wajid Khan, Chief Magistrate of Bhopal, at the close of 1288 A.H. (1872 A.D.) the result of which showed a total of 45,197 persons. God be praised that in my reign there should be an increase of 8,458 persons over the census taken in the reign of my late mother, and I feel assured that the population of the whole of my country has increased in my time owing to the greater security of life and property.

The population of the city of Bhopal is about half Hindu and half Muhammadan. Of the better classes of the former are Kayaths, Bannias, a few Brahmins and Rajputs; and of the better classes of Muhammadan, the Pathans are most numerous. There are some Shaikhs; for instance, the families of the late Kazi Ahmad Ali and Mafti Fazal-ulla, and there are several families of Syuds, such as the family of the late Syud Ma'sum bin Syud Hasan, who are generally known as the Pir Zadas; and there are above a hundred families of that trading class, the Bohras, who live in Bhopal. The professions, arts, and trades are represented in Bhopal equally by both Muhammadans and Hindus.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MEASUREMENT OF THE STATE OF BHOPAL, THE LIST OF PARGANAS, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE TOWNS AND FORTS, ALSO OF THE PRODUCE OF THE SOIL AND FRUITS.

ACCORDING to English measurement the area of the territories of Bhopal amount to 6,764 square miles, and in the present year, 1288 A.H., the British Government has commenced a new survey (topographical), an account of which shall, by God's help, be given on completion of the survey in an appendix to this History.

My late mother divided this country into three parts: the first part, named the Southern Division, contains 8 parganas, *viz.*: (1) Chipanir, (2) Bharonda, (3) Murdanpur, (4) Bari, the tahsildar of which is stationed at Chichli,

(5) Udehpura, (6) Chokigarh, the tahsildar of which lives in the town of Chandpurah, (7) Tal, the tashildar of which and the Nazim both live in Kaliakheri.

The second part consists of 12 parganas and is called the Eastern Division; they are: (1) Jethari, (2) Dewari, (3) Silwani, (4) Bamhuri, (5) Mahalpur, (6) Raisen, (7) Dewanganj, *i.e.*, the pargana of Gulgaon, (8) Amrauganj, *i.e.*, the pargana of Ramgarh, (9) Sewans, (10) Ghairatganj, (11) Ambapani, (12) Pekhlon.

The third part consisting of 10 parganas and called the Western Division: (1) Dilodh, the tahsildar of which lives in Gango, (2) Debipura, (3) Nazirabad, (4) Bairesia (5) Shamsgarh, (6) Sehore, (7) Duraha, (8) Ashta, (9) Jawar, (10) Itchawar.

Many of the above parganas were small, and the salaries of the tahsildars attached to them were small, accordingly, from the first Muharram 1288 A.H., Baironda was doubled up with Murdanpur, and Chokigarh, also called the pargana of Chandpura, was joined to pargana Tal and received the name of Kaliakheri. Jethari was doubled up with Dewari, and Silwani with Bamhuri, and Mahalpur with Raisen, and Dewanganj with Amrauganj, and Dilodh with Debipura, and Nazirabad with Bairesia, and Shamsgarh with Sehore, and the pay of the tahsildars was raised. 21 parganas in all were retained in three Divisions. In the Southern Division there are 8 towns, 8 parganas from old time, 2 forts and 614 villages. Gram, rice, wheat, masur,* tur, mung, mash, tilli, rameli, linseed, tobacco, kodon, kanki, peas, charonji, ghee, cotton, maize, and some trees the timber of which is fit for building purposes, like saj, teak, hardal, sissoo, abnas, kim, bija, sar, are grown in this Division.

*Chipanir* is a town 64 miles from Bhopal on the banks of the Narbada, a stream which is fordable in some places,

* Masur, Cicerlens. Múng, Phaseoius Mango. Másh, Phaseolus Max. Tilli, Sesamum.

but not in others; its water is of great specific gravity, and takes long to digest. This river is ranked with the Ganges and Jamna, but flows from east to west, it is regarded by the Hindus as sacred and held in great veneration, and to bathe in its waters is considered as a sure road to salvation. It abounds with fish. The town is surrounded by forest which is the haunt of numerous tigers, barah singhs, nilghai, sambhur, chital, bears, &c. The trees are principally cheronjis, ebony, and dhak. The town contains 229 tiled mud houses, and the pargana, to which the town gives its name, comprises 48 villages. The principal manufactory is of stone-mortars, the materials for which are found in the steep banks of the Narbada.

*Bharonda.*—This town is situated in open but undulating country, and is 54 miles from Bhopal. The wells which are dug for irrigation fall in in a few years owing to the sandy nature of the soil, and in the beginning of the year 1288 A.H., this subdivision for revenue purposes was united with that of Murdanpur. The town contains 323 houses; the surrounding country is neither smiling, nor the contrary, but covered with jungle. There are 55 villages in this pargana; every description of crop is cultivated there with the exception of jawar. Many weavers live in the town and weave rugs known as durias which are bought up by the cloth merchants of Bhopal and other neighbouring towns.

*Murdanpur* contains 185 houses. The surrounding country is a desert. The Town is situated on the banks of the Narbada, and the river is not fordable here; the hills and forest come close up to the town. There are 70 villages in this pargana, and every kind of crop, except opium and sugarcane, is grown here. The Forest consists principally of khair trees, and very good melons are grown in the sands of the Narbada.

*The Fort of Gannur* is situated on the summit of a hill 165 feet high, its length is 3696 feet, and width 874 feet; the walls are 82 feet high and 20 feet thick. The

surrounding country is full of deep ravines, and the fort is difficult and dangerous of access owing to the dense jungle and the windings of the path. The climate is said to be somewhat unhealthy. This fort would make a useful stronghold in time of war. A great deal of Kásar búts grows \ \ the old ruins, and is a valuable medicine for paralysis and convulsions. The inhabitants also assert that the Chitrawal tree, from the sap of which gold can be manufactured, grows on this hill. The stone composing this hill is for the most part soft, with green patches or black streaks in it, and this stone has formed the building material of the whole fort. There are twenty-five wells, and four water tanks in the fort, and a tomb beneath a banian tree, 6 yards long and 4 yards wide, which is believed by the inhabitants to be the grave of a saint named Isá Musá. There is the ruin of a very large palace of the former rajas of the place, also a very fine stone mosque built in one of the emperors' times, and by the side of it an arched building of great beauty, now in ruins. Below the fort there is a cave, the mouth of which built round with stone and mortar is entered by stone steps. This contains very cold and sweet water, and has been named by the inhabitants the Muhammad Spring. There are three entrenchments to this fort. The outer, known as the "morcha" redoubt, which is three miles from the fort itself; the second line is about two miles from the Fort. There are some dwellings here, and a tank. The third line is the fort itself, the gates and walls of which are very strong, and the bastions large and massive. The palace and wells mentioned above are in this fort; very good lime is made in this neighbourhood; the forest here is very dense; and there are four places especially celebrated for the large timber produced there, *viz.* 'Am *khó*, Chamelí *kho*, Yarnagar, and Dílawárí. This fort is surrounded by high hills and large caves and forest, inhabited by Gonds. Below the fort there is a peak, from which cannon shot can be fired into the fort; the name of this peak is the Ashrafi (gold mohur) hill.

According to the local legend, a king who was besieging the fort, by giving a gold mohur for each basket of earth and stones, raised this mound whence he was enabled to fire into the fort, which he captured. This fort is 38 miles from Bhopal. There is a kind of parrot here of great size light green with a red neck and a very loud whistle. Below the fort are two groves, called the Bír Bagh and Faiz Bagh respectively.

*Checkli* is on the banks of the Narbada; the lands towards which are uneven, but on the north they are level. Spring and autumn crops both grow well. This town was formerly a part of Barí, but on account of the latter being in the Kudsia Begam's estate, my late mother made Chechli the head-quarters of a pargana which she made up by the union of Tuppa Ramgarh from the pargana of Chokigarh, and of Tuppa Dubí with Barí. The new Pargana contains 101 inhabited villages, the town is 52 miles from Bhopal, and consists of 311 houses. There are a great many mango groves in the neighbourhood, and the land to the east, west and north is much cultivated. It is celebrated for the leather valises made by the local leatherworkers.

*Udhepura* is 84 miles from Bhopal and numbers 600 houses. It is celebrated for its dyes and cotton ropes. The town is surrounded by mango groves, in some of which there are also mulberry trees, kachnars, mulseris, plantains and jámuns. The country to the west and north is level, but uneven on the south, so that the yield (of grain on this side) is not more than a manassa;* some of the land to the east also is cultivated; a little opium is grown here. There are 87 villages in this Pargana.

*The Fort of Chokigarh* is situated upon the top of a hill in the Southern Division. The summit is 249 feet above the level ground; the walls are 20 feet thick and

* Manassa consists of 100 manis, a mani = 4 maunds, a maund = 40 seers of 100 Bhopalee rupees in weight each seer. 100 Bhopalee rupees = 96½ British in weight.

165 feet high, making the height to the top of the fort 413 feet; the length of the fort is 2,013 feet, and the breadth 1,568 feet; it is surrounded by jungle which abounds in beasts of prey; the climate is good; inside, there are two beautiful old stone buildings, also five wells and one tank, which is called Bhoj's tank; one of the wells is handsome and very deep and has steps down to it, and has some subterranean chambers; its water is very cool, sweet, well-flavoured and pure, and there are finely wrought staircases on each side descending to the water's edge. Below the fort are four wells and a reservoir and an inhabited village; its distance from Bhopal is 50 miles.

*Chandpura* is situated on a plain 40 miles from Bhopal. The spring crops grow very well here. The Government buildings, in which the tahsildar and thanadar live are well built. There is a Government garden and three belonging to private individuals, which are well-kept and delightful. The jungle comes close to the town; the land on the east side is undulating and capable of cultivation, and on the north there is a great quantity of land for tillage, but there is no arable land on the south, and very little on the west, which, however, is under cultivation; 78 villages make up the complement of this pargana which, in the beginning of 1288 A. H., was united to that of Tal or rather to Kaliakheri.

*Kaliakherí* is 22 miles from Bhopal, and is the head-quarters of the Commissioner of the Southern Division. The public buildings comprising the offices of the Commissioner, tahsildar and thanadar are extensive and well-built. The hill and jungle are quite close to the town. On the north side, there is a walled tank and two mango groves, and on the east also there are two tanks; this place is very favourable to the growth of wheat, and there is a kind of rice produced here which taken internally is a cure for headaches; it is called (máthá súl, Hindi forehead-ache). The town contains 304 houses,

and there are 96 villages in the pargana belonging to the State, the rest are in the Jaghir of the Kudsia Begam. This district is known as the Tal (Lake) pargana, and this is how it came by the name. In former times Raja Bhoj, Ruler of Malwa and Ujain, built a long broad and lofty dam of stone between two hills about sixteen miles from Bhopal, the scattered remains of which can still be seen. Owing to this dam the outflow of water from the hills was checked, and a large lake was formed extending for several miles in every direction. This dam was destroyed, and the waters were released by Hoshung Shah, Prince of Malwa, the founder of the town of Hoshungabad. It was he who in 801 A. H., founded a city near Piran Dhar, his capital, on the hill of Mando which he found to possess an agreeable climate and to be difficult of access. In three years a strong fort had been completed and a city built, which received the name of Shadiabad Mando, now it is ruined and deserted and belongs to the Püar Rajahs of Dhar, but still a contemplation of its Jama Masjid, the Tomb of Hoshung, the Palace of Nílkant, the Ship Palace, the Champa Well and other fine though partially ruined buildings shows that in its prime, Mando must have been a glorious city. After the waters had subsided, Hoshung founded villages in this tract which obtained the name of Pargana Tal. The finest kind of wheat grows here in abundance. During the rainy season there is such a quantity of mud of such an adhesive nature that certain streams and low lying lands are impassable both for men and horses. Near this dam is the village of Bhojpúr where there is an ancient and dilapidated temple. There are four columns, each 12 yards high and 5½ yards round, each composed of a single stone, and in the midst of these columns, there stands a plain circular stone 3 yards 13 girahs high and 2 yards 7 tusas wide and on the stone door-posts of this temple, there is a Sanscrit inscription to the effect that the foundations of this temple were laid in 36th Sambat year of the Bikramajit era, and that the building was completed on Saturday,

Baisakh Badi nomi in the year 159, also that Maharaja Sri Sanabap Pach of the Matáni family set up the image to the mighty Mahadeo.

This inscription leads to the inference that the dam mentioned above was the work of this Raja. God only knows.

*Bareli* is in the author's private estate. The town stands on a plain, which produces every description of crop in great abundance. Its distance from Bhopal is 66 miles; it contains 321 houses and is celebrated for its printed floor-cloths, the colours of which are fast, also for the manufacture of kharwa cloth. The town is embowered in many mango groves which give it an inviting appearance; most of the town lands are level, but unirrigated, save from the sky.

At the village of Bangalwara, which is situated on the top of the hills near the Narbada in this same pargana, there are Hindoo festivals held in the months of Kartik, Magh, and Baisakh. Vast concourses of people collect from every direction and a brisk trade is driven by merchants. There are 78 villages in this pargana, which is also noted for producing a certain kind of sweet melon called "uvala."

The Eastern division contains 12 towns, 12 parganas and one large fort and 943 villages, the products, such as grain, &c., are the same as in the Southern Division, but there is a greater quantity of tobacco grown and that of a better quality. The jungle contains not only large and dangerous game, but also jungle fowl, partridges, quail, button quail, and doves in large numbers.

*Jethari* is a town of 100 houses situated on a hill and is 80 miles distant from Bhopal; it is surrounded by mango groves, on the east there is good land, and a little on the north side, the land to the west is fertile and level, but hilly to the south. Spring crops are more grown than autumn crops. There is a well and a tank in the town, and hard by runs the Barakah river; good blankets are manufactured here. This pargana which contained 48 villages was in 1288 A. H. united with that of Dewari.

*Dewari*, which is 90 miles distant from Bhopal, lies between the Ubatgarh hill and the Runia river, and contains 736 houses; the Courthouse and the Chaudhri's house are fine buildings; the town is surrounded by mango groves. There are five tanks in the vicinity, in three of which there is water all the year round, the other two dry up in the hot weather. The country to the east and south is level, and on the west and north the land is either cultivated or cultivable. The soil is more suited to spring than autumn crops; sugarcane also thrives here. The banks of the tanks which are to the north of the town are covered with frames for growing betelnut. On the adjoining hills there are vestiges of ancient buildings. There are 58 villages in this pargana. The betelclippers made by the local blacksmiths are considered very superior.

*Silwani* is 76 miles from Bhopal. The town contains 900 houses, and the pargana 125 villages. The finest buildings in the town are the Government offices, and the Hindu temples. Notwithstanding the unevenness of the ground, and that the jungle comes close up to the town, yet the prosperity of the town imparts a cheerful aspect to the neighbourhood. This pargana in 1288 A. H. was united with that of Bamhuri. The principal trade carried on is that of dyeing, and counterpanes, floorcloths and cloaks are dyed in pretty patterns. In the villages attached to Silwani, Tát-patis and newár are largely manufactured.

*Bamhuri* is 83 miles from Bhopal; its climate is good and neighbourhood agreeable. The town consists of 225 houses, and has a well built Government office and a Government garden, the *Farhát Baksh*. The new bazaar and serai, the Jama Masjid and the Moti Well are all built of bricks and mortar, but the rest of the houses of the inhabitants are built of mud with tiled roofs. There are several groves near the town in some of which guavas, plantains, oranges, lemons, shaddocks, pomegranates and white roses* are grown; vegetables are grown in abundance, besides sugar-

* *Sewti* rosa glandulifera. Roxb.

cane, opium, jawar, cotton, sesamum and kodon (pumpkins), and such is the excellence of the soil that all the above crops thrive. The pargana contains 49 inhabited villages.

*Mahalpur* is 27 miles from Bhopal. This pargana contains 69 villages; the town consists of 105 houses. There is a ruined fort containing a well and the tahsildar's house and office. The tank of this town abounds with leeches, the neighbourhood has a melancholy appearance, and the jungle and hills are close to the town, the soil also is poor. In 1288 A. H., this pargana was attached to Raisen.

*Raisen.*—This town is 26 miles from Bhopal and contains as many as 800 houses, the offices of the Commissioner, tahsildar and thannadar, the houses of the Syuds, and the houses of slaves of former Nawabs, as well as the houses of some literate Kayaths are spacious and built of brick and mortar, the rest are built of mud with tiled roofs. Many good Muhammadan families, also some families of Kayaths and mahajans are located here, the neighbourhood is cheerful, there are groves of mangoes, many wells, and the river Ríchhan flows past the town, but dries up in the hot season, the soil is more adapted for spring than for rain crops, the unirrigated lands being poor in quality. The well-irrigated land produces vegetables and opium. The town itself is at the foot of a large hill, on the summit of which is a fort: 107 villages belong to this pargana. Outside the town is the tomb of Pir Fatah Ali Sahib, a very holy hermit who is said to have belonged to the same family as Khwajah Ma'in-uddin-Chishti, the Ajmere saint.

*The Fort of Raisen,* which is situated on the top of a high hill, is reckoned among the most renowned forts of Malwa, and is mentioned in the histories of Ferishta and others, but none of the historians have given the name of its founder. It is a conjecture of the author's that its founder's name was Rai-Sen, because such names as Ratan-Sen, Bhim-Sen, &c., are not uncommon among the Hindus. This fort must have been in the possession of Mahummadans for more than

400 years, because the inscription carved on the College of Ghanim-ul-Mulk (the robber of the kingdom,) inside the fort bears the date of 890 A. H., only two years less than 400 years from the present time; it appears to have been again taken by the Hindus, and recaptured from them by the Mahummadans a second time according to Mahammad Kasim Ferishta 350 years ago. The following is a summary of Ferishtá's account of this fort. In 938 A. H., it came to the ears of Sultan Bahadur of Gujerat that the son-in-law of the Rana of Chitor by name Salhadi Purbiah, Chief of Raisen, had obtained possession by violence of a great number of Muslman women, on which the Padshah considered it incumbent on him to rescue these Muhammadan women from the hands of an infidel who was deserving of punishment for his evil deeds. On the 25th of Jamadi-al-aval of that year, the Shah was encamped at Zafarabad Nalcha near Mando and Salhadi's son Bhopat was with the Shah of Guzerat there; he represented that his father was in Ujain, and if permission to depart were accorded to him, he would bring his father back with him to give in his submission to the king. Permission was granted, and Salhadi leaving his son Bhopat in Ujain, presented himself before the king who imprisoned him in the Fort of Piran Dhar, and sent one of his own sirdars Amad-ul-malik to Ujáin to supersede Bhopat, while he himself marched with his army to Bhelsa where he encamped. Here intelligence was brought him that Bhopat, on finding his father had been thrown into prison, and that Amád-ul-malik had been sent to supersede him, had departed for the Fort of Chitor to ask for assistance from the Rana, also that Lakhman, brother of Salhadi, was preparing to offer resistance from the Fort of Raisen. The Padshah marched from Bhelsa to Raisen, and before the arrival of the main body of the army when only the Padshah himself and a few followers had reached the encampment at Raisen, the Rajputs issued from the fort and attacked him. Sultan Bahadur showed great bravery

in repelling this attack, and with a single stroke of his sword cut in two, two or three of the Rajputs; in the meantime the Gujerat army broke in upon the scene, and slew many of the Rajputs, the rest of whom fled and regained the fort, which was then besieged by the Padshah. Effendi Rumí Khan his officer of artillery battered down two bastions and several yards of wall. Salhadi, on hearing of this state of things, sent word from Dhar that he adopted the Muslman religion, and made an offering of the Fort of Raisen to the Padshah, who thereupon sent for him, he became a Muhammadan, and accompanied by the Padshah went near to the gate of the fort and called to his brother and said "I have become a Muhammadan, the "Padshah of his great kindness will bestow upon me high "rank, we are bound now to surrender this fort and do "homage to the Padshah;" Lakhman secretly informed his brother that Bhopat was coming to raise the siege with an army of 40 thousand men of the Rana of Chitore, and that he must find a pretext for a little delay. Salhadi then represented to the Padshah that the fort would be evacuated the following afternoon. To this the Padshah assented, and on the morrow at the appointed time sent Salhadi, whose word he trusted, with some trustworthy officers to the fort. Salhadi went up to the breached bastion, and called out at the top of his voice, "Tremble! O ye slothful Rajputs, for by this road shall Sultan Bahadur come and slay you:" his real object in so saying being to warn them to repair the bastion and wall which had been breached by the cannon. Lakhman who heard these words understood their purport and remained silent. Salhadi then returned to the army and Lakhman did his best to repair the fort, and at night despatched Salhadi's youngest son with two thousand Rajputs to hasten Bhopat. The army of the Shah was on the alert, and attacked this party with great ardour. Many of the Rajputs were slain, and the head of Salhadi's son was cut off and presented to the Shah, who, on the spot, gave Salhadi in charge to

Burhán-ul-malik, one of his nobles to confine in the Fort of Mando. A spy brought intelligence that the Rana and Bhopat were coming by ordinary marches from Chitor. The Padshah despatched Miran Muhammad Shah of Faruk, the governor of Burhanpur and Amad-ul-málik to oppose the Rana. These two generals, after proceeding several marches, sent word that Puran Mal, another son of Salhadi's, had joined the Rana, who was advancing in their neighbourhood at the head of a very large army. As soon as this intelligence reached the Padshah, he set out with all the cavalry at his disposal, and in a night and day marched 140 miles over Malwa country and formed a junction with his generals. The Rana of Chitor was so discouraged by the news that he retired with his army to Chitor, and the Padshah returned to Raisen which he straitly besieged. At the end of the month of Ramzan of this year, Lakhman despaired of assistance from the Rana, and wrote to the Padshah asking him to send for Sálhadi to his presence and pardon him in which case he would evacuate the fort. The Padshah sent for him from Mando, Lakhman removed all the Rajputs and their families out of the fort, and wrote to the king that there were several hundred women in the palace of Salhadi, and that the Rani Durgawati, mother of Bhopat, asked that permission might be given to Salhadi to come and remove his women from the fort. The Padshah sent Salhadi to the fort with Malik Ali Sher. The Rani said to Salhadi we have lived all our lives here as chiefs, there is nothing left for you but to kill the women and burn them and die fighting yourself. Salhadi agreed and killed the Rani and seven hundred beautiful and delicate women who were in his palace, to which he set fire. Then he and Lakhman and his relatives 100 men in all issued from the palace, and attacked the Muslmans who had come as Ali Sher's escort. Ali Sher opposed them, and word was quickly brought to the royal camp, the Gujerat army at once ran hurried into the fort and killed all the Rajputs.

The following is a description of the Fort of Raisen as it is at the present time and as seen by myself. There are nine gateways, eight large and one small. Of these three are on its northern, three on its western, and two on its southern face; the wicket is on the western side, the walls are of massive stone masonry. There are thirteen bastions, three on the east, five on the north, three on the west. There are sixty-five buildings inside, of which twenty-five are in ruins, and forty standing. There is a very fine mosque in the centre arch of which is inscribed in Arabic letters, a Persian verse. There is a large and well-built college founded by Ghanim-ul-mulk, also bearing an inscription, and three palaces, which are called by the inhabitants of Raisen the Attardars, the Badal palace and Rajah Rohani's palace. There are four reservoirs, the names of which are Dura, Duri, Madagan, and Sagar, and forty-eight wells; and on the walls, there are two or three Hindi inscriptions, and two or three Persian inscriptions, one of which upon one of the eastern gates is as follows; " the repairs of the buildings and ramparts of the Fort of Raisen were executed in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, slayer of infidels under the superintendence of Khwaja Yakut Háras, Sheikh Bhar-addin, Muhammad Amin, Hájji Muhammad Ashraff and Anúp Rai, Tahvildar, Mansur being governor, and Muhammad Abid Khan Daurana being his deputy between the first of Rabi-ul-akhir of the 35th year of the reign and the 19th Shaban of the 38th year.

On this hill custard-apples, fine large and well flavoured grow wild in abundance. The tanks produce very fine waternuts. Honey, too, is often cheap being procurable at from 4 seers to 8 seers the rupee.

*Dewanganj* is 12 miles from Bhopal and contains 114 houses; this pargana contains 59 villages, it is also known as the Gulgaon Pargana; some of the villages are in the jaghir of the Kudsia Begam. The thana and tahsil are in the hands of the State. To the south and north are hills, but to the west the country is under cultivation; the spring

and rain crops are both equally cultivated. This pargana was united to Umrauganj in the beginning of 1288 A.H.

*Umrauganj.*—Its original name was Rámgarh. The pargana was formerly the jaghir of the late Nawab Manir Muhammad Khan, but it lapsed to the State after his decease. Afterwards it was bestowed by my late mother on the late Nawab Umrau Dula, who changed the name to Umrauganj. It is 14 miles from Bhopal and only is a small village of 79 houses. The river Ajnal runs near it; to the east and south most of the land is under cultivation; the spring crops predominate over the rain crops; the pargana contains 85 villages.

*Sewans.*—To the north, the country is pretty level. The south and east are covered with groves, but there is also some cultivation; the river Bina skirts its western side. Rain and spring crops are equally cultivated here; it is 64 miles from Bhopal; the town contains 1,200 houses, and the pargana consists of 175 villages. Of the old buildings, the fort is on the following plan: it has two walls one of which is of solid brick masonry with a bastion at each of the four corners; the gate is of brick masonry and three stories high. Within the walls are two brick wells, but none of the buildings are now standing. The new buildings in which the fort-commandant, thanadar and tahsildar live are in perfect order, the second fort-wall of mud has fallen down in several places, the ditch is faced with masonry on two sides, but not on the other two. There are two gateways, the one on the north-east which is of brick masonry has fallen down, that on the south-west also of masonry is still standing. On this gateway there is an inscription in Arabic letters, but it can no longer be deciphered as many of the letters have been effaced by age. There are 71 wells, 12 Hindu temples, and 16 groves in and around this town.

*Ghairatganj* is 60 miles from Bhopal. The country is cultivated to the south, east and north, but not to the

west, where the river Bina flows; rain crops are less cultivated than Spring crops. The pargana contains 66 villages, one of which the village of Malarmatia possesses a mine of iron-stone. The town of Ghairatganj contains 295 houses, and there are 6 wells and 7 groves in its neighbourhood.

*Ambapani* is 40 miles from Bhopal. The town is of average size containing 296 houses, and there are 87 villages in the pargana, and in one of the villages Jhámar, there is a mine of iron-stone. The town is surrounded by jungle. It used to possess a very strong fort, but after the mutiny, 1274 A.H., when the Jaghirdars Fázil Muhammad Khan and Adil Muhammad Khan, sons of Wajid Muhammad Khan, son of Sarfaráz Muhammad Khan rebelled, my late mother had the fort dismantled and destroyed.

*Paikhlon* is situated in a plain open country, and possesses 197 houses. The pargana consists of only ten villages; the neighbourhood is cheerful. There are three mango groves near the town. The country to the east, west, and north is undulating, and cultivated, to the south it is level. The crops grown are chiefly cereals. The Western Division contains ten ancient parganas, ten towns and 977 villages. Its marketable produce, which exceeds that of the other two divisions, comprises opium, sugarcane, mungphali, jawar, mustard, bajra, and chewing-tobacco. There are fewer timber trees in this district, but it contains brush wood, self-sown date palms and mango trees.

*Sangah* is 12 miles distant from Bhopal; it contains 117 houses. In this pargana which is entered on the State records as the pargana Dilodh, there are 44 villages. Owing to its smallness it was incorporated with Debipura in 1288 A.H. To the west and north, there is a great deal of cultivation, but less towards the east. The country is tolerably level.

*Debipura* is 22 miles from Bhopal. The town is of average size containing 122 houses. The tahsildar's and

thannadar's house and three private dwelling-houses are good. In the neighbourhood there are 3 mango groves. The neighbourhood is agreeable. The pargana contains 62 villages.

*Názírábád and Bairesia.*—When the pargana of Bairesia first became part of Bhopal territory, my late mother finding it to contain 256 villages divided it into two parts, one of which retained its former name of Bairesia, and to the other was given the name of Názírábád, the latter place itself is a little village of 28 houses. I disapproved of this arrangement as inconvenient, and reunited them into one pargana. The town of Bairesia contains 727 houses inhabited by tradesmen and cultivators, both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Kazi of this place enjoys a jaghir inherited from the times of the Delhi Emperors. Outside the town in the courtyard of the mosque stands the tomb of my ancestor, the founder of my family, Nur Muhammad Khan. The following inscription is carved over the archway. In the reign of Farakhsir Emperor 1127·A.H., this mosque was built by Dost Muhammad Khan.

*Shamsgarh.*—This town is much decayed and contains only 49 houses. It is 10 miles from Bhopal. Near it runs the river Kírwán, and rice is cultivated on its banks. There is a mango grove near the town. To the north and west the land is level and well cultivated; on the south and east there is some cultivable land. It is surrounded by jungle. On the south side there is a tank, the water of which dries up in the hot weather, and several ruined Buddhist temples. The villages of this pargana are very good. It has now been incorporated with Sehore.

*Sehore* is 20 miles from Bhopal. The town contains 1,542 houses, and the pargana 116 villages. The town contains many fine houses, and the bankers counting-houses are handsome. There are many groves belonging to Maafidars in the neighbourhood, and a stream which never dries up

flows near the town. There is an enclosed space like a fort in which stand good and substantial Government buildings. The Vakil, tahsildar, and thannadar's offices are there. On the west of the fort beneath the walls there was a ruined mosque, over the gateway of which was cut an inscription in the Sals character (triangular) as follows :—

Malik Magisuddin is as high in greatness and height as heaven, the Sun of prosperity, and the True Faith, the greatest general of the age, administrator of boundless territory, Defender of the faith and country, he shines in the Court as Khusru and in the camp as Rustam, for knowledge and wisdom he rivals Asuf and Khizr. Thoroughly does he obey the commandments of God and help His servants. Auspicious was the day which saw the foundation of this mosque, whose magnificence is an ornament to the High Heaven—and which by the blessing of the Creator of time and the world was completed in the year 732 A. H.

In the reign of my late mother, this mosque was rebuilt of stone on its old foundations under the superintendence of the First Minister Jumaluddin Khan, and on a white marble tablet, an inscription was inlaid in the Nastalik character in letters of black marble, which tablet was let into the wall over the gateway.

This was the site of an ancient and ruined mosque which was rebuilt by God for the people to adore Him. The name of its first founder was Malik Magisuddin, and the date of its foundation 732 A. H. It was rebuilt by the Nawab Sikandar Begam when God set her upon the throne of Bhopal. When the restoration was complete, she discovered the word (فراغ) * (complete) as the date of its restoration.

* ف stands for 80
ر " " 200
ا " " 1
غ " " 1000

1281 A.H., the year of its restoration.

Near this town is the cantonment, which is larger than the town. The sight of its prosperity would drive away the gloom from the most melancholy breast. The house of the Political Agent, and the Church built by Col. J. W. Willoughby, Osborne, C. B., Political Agent, and the school house, on the bank of the river built by Captain Cunningham, late Political Agent, are spacious and elegant stone buildings, very agreeable and pleasing to the eye. A house for the Ruler to occupy during her visits has been built in this town. The principal manufacture consists of fine turbans fetching from Re. 1 to Rs. 20 each, and fabric of gold or silver thread with border of the same woven in.

*Dauraha* is 18 miles from Bhopal, and contains 404 houses. There are many mango groves in the neighbourhood. The surrounding country is not to any extent delightful or the reverse. The Commissioner's office and the Chaudri's house are fine buildings. Cultivation extends to the west, east, and south, but not to the north side. There are 37 wells and 4 reservoirs in this town.

*Ashta.*—This town and fort are built upon a mound on the banks of the Parbati. The country to the west and south is uneven, but in other directions level. There are a great number of groves belonging to Maafidars in the neighbourhood, the bankers here are rich, and there is a good deal of trade in opium. There are 2,513 houses in the town, also 27 wells and 3 temples. There is a brick mosque near the Nazarganj quarter. The fort is not a remarkable building. There are 137 villages in this pargana, some of which are large and very thriving, for instance, Mania famed for its numerous mango and Jaman trees. The soil produces both spring and autumn crops. The lands of this village are transferable, that is the tenants take crops off them for ten years' running, and then allow them to lie fallow, and after four years work the land again. The town of Jamner is in this

pargana, and is of considerable size, and numbers of weavers live there. Pagris of fine texture, waistcloths and several kinds of cotton cloth of good quality are manufactured by them. To the east, west, and north, opium, sugarcane, cotton, jawar, and wheat are produced in great abundance, and wheat and jawar on the south. There is a large swamp in the neighbourhood where very fine rice is grown. Several kinds of rice are grown in this pargana, the best of which are called Rani ka jal (Queen's water) and Rai Bhog (the Rai's food) which are very well flavoured.

*Jawar* is 60 miles from Bhopal and contains 594 houses. The pargana contains 162 villages.

*Ichawar* is 31 miles from Bhopal. The town is populous and the neighbourhood agreeable. The Government buildings which are substantial are in the fort, the houses of the people are pretty. There are two groves, the property of Government and several belonging to private individuals, in which roses and fruits are grown. The country is level and cultivated on every side, but better adapted for autumn than for spring crops. The town contains 894 houses, and the pargana 38 villages.

Besides the 30 towns and 2,534 villages comprised in the three divisions, there are two other towns, *viz.*, Chainpur Bari and Islamnagar, and 816½ villages belonging to the Nawab Kudsia Begam for her life which are not reckoned in the above enumeration.

The most wonderful ancient buildings in the State of Bhopal are at Sanchi Kanakhera, a small village under the brow of a hill some 20 miles north-east of Bhopal, and only a short distance from the boundary between the Bhopal and Gwalior States, and 6 miles from the town of Bhelsa. On this above-mentioned hill which is of a semicircular form, there are two very ancient circular domes covered with stone, one much larger than the other at some distance from each other besides several similar mounds now in ruins; round the large dome there are four walls, in

a somewhat ruined condition and four gateways.* Nearly all the stones of the wall have inscriptions on them in the Sanskrit character. The stone door-posts are covered with carvings of figures, and on both sides of the gateways are carvings of men, tigers, &c., the beams and crossbars are also covered with carvings, but some of them are lying broken. Near this there is another ruined building and several others of which nothing more than the foundations remain. There are several other domes of almost exactly the same description but now in ruins, at Sunari a village 6 miles from Sandir, and at Satdhara three miles from Sunari besides similar ruins at Bhojpur which is to the south of Bhopal, and at Andher five miles from Bhojpur.

The above ruins appear to be objects of great interest to European gentlemen. Major Alexander Cunningham, brother of the late Captain J. D. Cunningham, formerly Political Agent of Bhopal, stayed several weeks in this neighbourhood, and examined these ruins most carefully. He took drawings of the place, deciphered the inscriptions, and bored shafts down these domes. The result of his investigations were described by him in an English work. The meaning of the word Sanchi in the Hindi language is calm or peace. These domes are called "Topes." The diameter of the larger one is 106 feet, its height 42 feet, the height of the pediment on which the Tope is built 14 feet, of the plinth 5½ feet, and of the whole platform 2½ feet. This Tope is in the middle of a courtyard 150 yards long by 100 broad on the summit of the hill. The joints of the stone railing and gateways are morticed together like carpenter's work, and these are so nicely adjusted that there are no gaps. This building dates from about 600 years before Christ. At that time the Buddhist religion was general through Hindustan as it still is in China, Nepal, Thibet, Ava, the island of Ceylon, Siam, and the island

* The stupa is surrounded by a stone railing in which are four gateways. The Begam has considered each piece of railing from one gate to the next, a separate wall.

of Japan. These Topes are the shrines of the Buddhist saints. Major Cunningham by boring into them at Sanchi and elsewhere discovered stone-boxes which contained the bones and ashes of the dead. He also found the names engraven on the boxes, and on the caskets which were in the boxes. He also discovered that in those times there was a populous city at the foot of these hills, the remains of which were visible two miles from Bhelsa, the name of which appears to have been Vaisánagara. It is this gentleman's opinion that in fidelity to nature, grace of outline, and in the symmetry of the parts, the carvings at Sanchi are far superior to the work of modern Hindu artists. The hinder parts and claws of the sculptured lions which are uninjured have been so truthfully wrought as to bear comparison with works of celebrated Greek sculptors, for instance, there are four large claws represented in front, and one small raised claw behind, besides the terrific aspect of the lion is well caught and portrayed. He considered these buildings to belong to the age of Asoka, ruler of Ujáin. The carvings, representations of solitary mendicants, and also of worshippers, the King and his Court, and processions, &c. have been described at length by Major Cunningham,* but there is no room for further accounts of them in this summary. To sum up, these ruins are so highly thought of that a gentleman took a cast of them to set up in London. Another enquirer has also stated that in former times, nearly 3,000 years ago, there was a city inhabited under this hill, and that the name of the city was Sandkanagar, and that the large Tope at Sanchi is the shrine of Ariaparshan, one of the principal saints among the followers of Buddha.

* I think Genl. Cunningham founds one of his arguments that the sculptured lions and abacus on the columns of Asoka were the work of Greek artists, or of those who had received teaching from Greek artists on the fact that, the hind claws of the lion were drawn true to nature and that the lion was not found in Malwa. The lion, however, has been shot in Central India at a distance of not more than 200 miles from Sanchi, so that so much of his argument is open to question.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF BHOPAL.

This city lies in the second zone, in the province of Malwa, of the country kingdom of Hindustan on the 111th degree of longitude, and the 23rd of latitude according to the tables given in the Dictionary of Ghias.* It is situated on a low hill. The legend runs that Raja Bhoj, Ruler of Dharanagara, better known under its present name of Piran Dhár, joined two hills which were close together by a mole of great length, breadth, and thickness, thus forming a lake. On the dam thus formed he built a fort to which he gave the name of Bhojpál, pál meaning in Hindi a dam. The letter J was gradually dropped owing to its awkwardness in pronunciation, and Bhojpal became Bhopal. Afterwards Rani Sálmalí, wife of Raja Udrádut, built a large temple of stone near the fort to which she gave the name of Sabha Mandal. This temple was begun in 1208 Sambat, and finished on Monday Kartik Baddi Tij (third of the waning-moon) 1241 Sambat, which dates of the commencement and completion of the building were engraved on the temple, as also the fact that the Rani and Raja made provision in this place for 500 Brahmins to practise devotion and austerity, and for the purpose of instructing disciples in four Vedas, six Shastars, eighteen Purans, and in Prosody and other sciences all in the Sanskrit tongue. It should be premised that the four Vedas are four books written by the sage Beas,† their names are the Sayám Veda, Anthravan Veda, Rig Veda, and Yojur Veda. By the six Shastars is meant six sciences, *viz.*, Baiakaran,

* The Arabic Geographers divide the northern Hemisphere into seven aklims or zones, in the second of which Bhopal is situated. *Ghiesuddin*, who wrote in 1242 A. H., a native of Rampore or Mustaphabad; Pergunnah Shahabad of Lucknow, in the Sircar of Sumbhal, and Soobah of Delhi (Shahjehanabad).

† Beas, the founder of the Vedanta philosophy—Forbes Dic.

or grammar; the Dharm Shastar, theology; Níaí Shastar, logic; Jotash, astrology; Vedanta, or mysticism; Baidak, or medicine, and 18 Purans (Hindu mythological books), the Gob and Shiva purans, &c., by which are meant the 18 most sacred books of the Hindus. Pingal is the science of Prosody. To cut a long story short—in process of time the Sabha Mandal decayed, and the town of Bhopal dwindled down to a little village. My ancestor Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan who was fond of sport was in the habit of visiting this lake in pursuit of geese, ducks, kaj, (geese ?) cranes, sheldrake, pelicans, fish, &c., whatever game the lake afforded. The extent of the lake, the hills and jungle pleased him, so on a Friday the 9th Zilhij in the year 1140 A. H., he laid the foundations of a strong fort, at the distance of a long cannon shot from the fort of Raja Bhoj, now known as the old fort, and to this he gave the name of Fatehgarh, and he not only joined the two forts with a stone wall, but extended the wall some distance beyond the old fort, and in this enclosed space he founded a city, and fixing his own residence here strove hard to increase the population, so that in a short time it became very populous. His successor Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan made Islamnagar his capital, but Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan on becoming Ruler chose the old fort in Bhopal as his residence. To him succeeded Nawab Hiyat Muhammad Khan; his minister Dewan Choteh Khan strengthened the fort of Fatehgarh in places, and the city increased in prosperity. Choteh Khan also built a dam 300 yards long, 23 yards wide, of solid masonry on the other side of the old fort, and thus made a second lake.

Afterwards in 1229 A. H., the combined forces of Gwalior and Nagpur besieged Bhopal for ten months, and the inhabitants abandoned their homes, the houses were all destroyed by the cannon, and the town became a ruin, an account of which has been given in the first part of this work. After this calamity, the city was re-peopled in the reign of Nawab Naziruddaula, Nazar Muhammad Khan, but most of the

houses built were poor structures roofed with straw or tiles. Up to the Regency of the Nawab Kudsia Begam, the city was inhabited principally by Afghans devoted to the profession of arms who prided themselves on their weapons and horses, but neither great nor small, cared anything for the amenities of life or for articles of luxury. It was not till the reign of my father Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, "the sword of war," that the influences of civilization and comfort began to prevail. The Nawab built cantonments outside the city like English cantonments to which he gave the name of Jahangirábád, and on the banks of Chotch Khan's lake, he made a garden and built a house where he took up his abode, and he spent thousands of rupees on the inhabitants and soldiers to induce them to build houses there. Men of leisure, and those skilled in every art, science and learning were gathered to this place; and the general culture of the place was engendered. The people began to dress in respectable clothes, to eat good dinners, and also to live in good houses. The better class of inhabitants busied themselves in acquiring articles of culture and luxury. After him came my late mother, the Sikandar Begam, in whose reign roads were made in all parts of the city, lamp-posts were set up on both sides of the streets, and hundreds of substantial houses were built. Skilful artisans from all cities were attracted to this place, and in my own reign the same advance in prosperity and population has been more than maintained, and is still increasing. The roads are being widened. Substantial houses and shops are built on both sides of the bazaars and the erection of mud structures is forbidden. The length, breadth, and depth of the two lakes have been ascertained by an accurate survey undertaken under my orders, and are as follows: the large lake, length to the north 13348 feet, length on the south side 12730 feet, width on the east side 82½ feet, width on the west side 3118. Greatest depth 18 feet, average depth 12 feet 6 inches, smallest depth 6 feet, circumference 29279 feet, area 1876 bigahs 12 biswas. The smaller

lake, length of east bank 6328 feet, length of west bank 4884 feet, width of the north side 1270 feet, width of the south side 3795 feet, area 240 bigahs. The area between the two lakes, which is the dam built by Raja Bhoj, the dam being the site of the fort amounts to 18 bigahs 12 biswas. In the neighbourhood there are 73 gardens of which the 12 most celebrated are described below.

'Aish Bagh (the pleasure garden) belongs to the Nawab Kudsia Begam, it is enclosed by four masonry walls and contains several brick wells, fruit trees and scented roses. There is a spacious and ornamental building of masonry surrounding the Baoli (large well) besides a small mosque and several summer houses.

*Farhat Afza* (the increase of delight) is the garden of the late Sikandar Begam, and contains besides fruits, flowers walks, wells, and walls, a fine mosque, and round the large well some spacious buildings. On a stone platform there is a white marble screen enclosing the grave of the late Begam, and forming a tasteful monument.

*The Dilkusha* (heart expanding) is the First minister's garden, besides masonry wells, the enclosing wall, gravel walks, and fruit trees in great variety there is a summer house of great beauty; there are a great many rare kinds of mango trees and many vine trellises in this garden.

*The Nur Afshan* (the dispenser of light) is the garden of the late Second Minister Raja Kishen Ram: it is well stocked with fruit trees and sweet herbs, the enclosure and the wells are of substantial masonry.

*The Nur Bagh* (garden of light) is a garden of the late Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan; it contains splendid fruit-bearing trees and roses of every hue; the walls are of masonry, and its walks tastefully laid out; the tomb of the late Nawab here enclosed by an alabaster railing, the domed mausoleum over the remains of Mian Amir Muhammad Khan, the marble railing surrounding the tomb of the Suleman Jahan Begam, and the mosque are all of considerable beauty. The western side of the garden on the margin

of the lake is delightful. On the north side are the soldiers' lines, on the south the mansion of the late Nawab, and on the east the fine open and level parade ground of the troops, all of which render this garden very agreeable.

*The Ráhat Afzá* (increaser of repose).—This garden belonged to Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, the youngest uncle of the Nawab Sikandar Begam: he departed this life on the 16th of Zilhij 1281 A. H. Like the others this is a well kept and agreeable garden.

*Nishat Afza* (the pleasure diffuser) is my garden. It is of great extent, well kept and tastefully laid out. Besides its surrounding wall of brick and lofty gateways and trees of every kind and variety, it contains several pavilions very ornamental and uncommon in their character.

The garden of Nawab Amrau Dulah is surrounded by a masonry wall, over the gateway which is lofty, there is a pretty little summer house, also there are two brick buildings, a reservoir and several wells of sweetwater at appropriate places. The Nawab is also buried here.

The garden of Nawab Manir Muhammad Khan is situated close to the city just outside the Gannuri Gate on the banks of the lesser lake, it is surrounded by a very elegant enclosure wall. The late Nawab lies buried here. To the east of this garden a small open plot of ground has been turned by the Nawab Consort into a garden, and a well and mosque have been built here. This little space has been very tastefully laid out.

Rajah Khashwakt Rai's garden contains a stone monument to the Rajah. The garden is of considerable extent.

*Nawab Moiz Mahammad Khan's* garden.—He was the elder maternal uncle of the late Sikandar Begam, and died on the 27th Jamadialakhir 1286 A.H. There is a large and ancient well here, round which is an arched building, the tomb of Ghaus Mahammad Khan, and the mausoleum of the late Nawab Maiz Mahammad Khan and Mian Faujdar Mahmmad Khan are here.

Wazir Bagh belonged to Mian Wazir Muhammad Khan. It contains a mosque, his tomb, and that of his son Nawab Nazar Muhammad Khan. There is a large well round which is built a pavilion in carved stone which is very pretty. There are also some stone wells in the precincts of the garden.

Some of the principal buildings of this city are better than the average, and deserve special mention, *viz.*, my palace, the Moti mahal, the late Sikandar Begam's residence, the Nawab Kudsia Begam's palace, the palace of the Nawab Moiz Muhammad Khan, the house of Mian Faujdar Muhammad Khan, the palace of the late Amrau Dula, the Badal Mahal, the Hawa Mahal, the house of the late Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan, the Sulemania school, the Victoria school, and the Prince of Wales' school built by me.

There are upwards of 100 stone and brick mosques in this city. The finest is the Jama Masjid built by the Nawab Kudsia Begam at a cost of Rs. 5,07,519-2-3 pie. Its foundations were laid in 1248 A.H., and it was finished in 1273 A.H.

The Moti Masjid (or pearl mosque) was built by the late Sikandar Begam of white marble and red sandstone in imitation of the Jama Masjid at Delhi. This has not been yet completed, but is a lofty and handsome building. There are far larger cities which cannot boast a mosque to compare with either of the above.

The Nawab Kudsia Begam has built waterworks under European superintendence at a cost of six lacs of rupees, and water is distributed in every part of the city. Besides the above there are many other buildings belonging to wealthy private individuals, both masonry, and of carved wood, showing good workmanship and taste, besides being lofty and spacious, the description of which is beyond the space at my disposal.

The Fort of Fatehgarh contains arsenal, magazine, store rooms for grain, and a palace in the citadel. The old fort possesses the mausoleum of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan,

the prison, and the ancient palace of Rajah Kesri Singh, all fine buildings. There are also several massive and fine stone flights of steps down to the lake which are the work of Hindoo citizens.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST DESERVING OFFICERS OF THE STATE, AND OF SOME OF THE MOST LEARNED OF ITS SERVANTS AND AN EPILOGUE TO THIS BOOK.

Persian was always the Court language of Bhopal, from the time of my ancestor Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan till the beginning of the Regency of the late Sikandar Begam. The accounts and records both being kept in that language, when Hindustani was universally adopted by the English Government, the late Sikandar Begam also substituted Hindustani for Persian.

There was no lack of able men in Bhopal in the times of the former Nawabs,—Kazis and Muftis, besides learned men and hermits, such as Múlavi Zia-uddin and Nizamuddin, Hakím Wasil Ali, Hakím Saifuddin, Shaikh Kadir Baksh, besides several learned Kayaths; but the profession of arms was the principal study of all classes high and low. There was some encouragement given to men of letters in the Regency of the Kudsia Begam. The Hakím Shahzad Massíh, Raja Khushwakt Rai, and several Kayaths were proficient in the art of keeping accounts and in conducting ordinary business in reading and writing; and among men of learning could be reckoned Mulavi Abdal Kadar, Mulavi Shahabuddin, Mulavi Ruf Ahmad, Mulavi Imdád Alí, Hakím Khadim Hasan Khan, son of Munshi Baka-oollah Khan of Khairabad, Hakím Gulzar Alí Khan, Hakím Bahadur Alí Khan. Afterwards in the time of my late father, great encouragement and patronage was afforded to men of letters, my late father himself being a learned and accomplished man. In his time the following good men were collected in Bhopal: Kazi Sheríf Hasán, Hakím

Muhammad Azím Khan, author of the Nira Azam,* and the Aksir Azam, Abdul Wahid, surnamed Miskín (the poor), Abdallah Shah Sufí, Munshí Kunj Behari Lal, surnamed Khalwat (the friend), Syud Wasil Ali, Munshi Muhammad Ali, Bakhshi Bahadur Muhammad Khan, &c., and in the same way, in the time of my late mother there were numbers of men of letters and learning and of renown in India. Besides those of scientific attainments, Munshis, Mulavís, Hakíms, poets of every degree of excellence were attracted to Bhopal. But most encouragement was given to those who were well versed in finance and statesmanship, especially to the present First Minister, who has been the means of remedying many abuses and introducing many excellent reforms: knowledge was diffused, true religion was inculcated, idolatry and heresy were dispelled. During my reign, by God's grace, men of learning and capacity, good character, fidelity, honesty and attainments, are respected and honoured as they deserve. May God increase them. Of the many literary men in the service of the State, Kazi Zainalábdín, Insarí Arab, Kazí of Bhopal, Mufti Syud Abdalla, and that encyclopædia of knowledge Mulavi Abdul Kaiúm, son of the late Abd-ul-Haí, enjoy the widest reputations; and medical men of character, such as Hakím Asghar Husain, Hakím Farzand Alí, and Hakím Muhammad Ahsanulla, hold employment in the State, and there are clerks and munshis, each master of their several arts.

There are officials of high rank conspicuous for their loyalty and efficiency like the First Minister Munshi Jamaluddin Khan; Saifuddaula Ali Husain Khan, the First Minister's Secretary; Dewan Thakur Pershad, superintendent of the Ruler's Office, who has great knowledge of finance and accounts.

Of the house of Bhopal, the Nawab Wala Jah, compared with the others, is a bright particular gem, and in learning none can compare with him; in ability he is in advance

* Nira Azam and Aksir Azam, works on medicine.

of all his contemporaries; in prose, poetry, and science, especially in theology and the traditional sayings of Muhammad, his equal is not to be found in the whole world, his books are the best witnesses of his application and research; he is a good Sunni, and a tried controversialist. There are many other able and industrious officers to be found at Bhopal, mention of whom is only omitted as being too long for this work.

*Conclusion.*—There are three parts of this History. The first part contains a brief sketch of the reigns of former Rulers of Bhopal up to the time of my father. In the second Part, the events of the reign of my late mother have been recounted. The third Part is an account of three years of my reign from the 1st Shában 1285 A.H., to the end of Zilhij 1288 A.H., and it closed in the earlier part of the year 1289 A.H. For the future I have determined to collect from year to year the materials for a fourth Part as an appendix to this book, in which all the events worth recording shall be given in order according to the era of the Hejira for as long as God may be pleased to prosper the work.

L'envoi of this Book composed by the Nawab Wala Jah Amir ul Mulk Syud Muhammad Sadik Hasan Khan Bahadur, God bless him!

The Taj ul Ikbal.—History of Bhopal which has flowed from the truthful and eloquent pen of the Nawab Shahjahan Begam, Grand Commander of the Star of India, and Ruler of Bhopal, by God's help has been completed. The progress of events and descriptions of the administration, political and financial, ancient and modern, have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The annals of former Princes, written by contemporary authors eloquent but interested, have not been free from faults of exaggeration and suppression; but this is a most truthful history which the Begam has compiled in Hindustani and Persian; the diction is pure, and the contents are such as commend themselves to every educated man; the greatest impartiality has been

shown in recounting this history of her own family and the transactions of the State; in every particular the strictest truth has been adhered to. In these latter days, when the last remnants of wealth and power are passing away, the decay of the old principalities of this country is beyond description. There is not one of these Princes, either Musulman or Hindu throughout the whole breadth of India, to be compared for a moment with the mighty Ruler of Bhopal, in point of fertility of resource for administration, breadth of view or acuteness. Should any one express doubt or astonishment at such a statement, this book, the History of Bhopal, is here; let it be carefully consulted, and the manner in which affairs in other States are conducted be strictly investigated, and there will be no room for further doubt as to how other Rulers, men, though they be, carry on public affairs, and how they needlessly, by sheer idleness and supineness, allow their names to be sullied; and then let comparison be made with the excellent arrangements, both secular and religious, which have been made by the Ruler of Bhopal, who, though she is a woman, can teach lessons of wisdom to great statesmen both in politics and finance.

This History ought to be put into the hands of contemporary princes as a manual of good government, and it should be a study for statesmen, to copy the excellent reforms introduced by the Ruler of Bhopal; from this book they can learn how to amend their defective procedure. See what a little book this is, in which such great problems of government have been solved, and how many events, past and present, have been compressed within the limits of a few pages, not only great deeds but small matters have also found a place, all incidents past and present have been collected in three brief Parts. It is so simple that by its study children may master the science of politics, so wise that old men will rise from its perusal wiser men. The story of the past serves as a lesson and warning for the present generation; the events now

passing will form for posterity a stock of examples and admonitions. To the descendants of the Ruler herself this work will be a guide and a monument. It is a very Jam Jahan numa* (the world exhibiting cup) Aina Sikandar, the mirror of Alexander, an Aiin Jahandari, the laws of sovereign power. Praise be to God that like as Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal in the conduct of secular affairs shines like a bright particular gem among other chiefs, so in furtherance of our religion, in obedience to the true faith, and in putting away the reproach of sin and infidelity, she can for high intelligence and lofty courage, woman though she be, stand comparison with any man.

He who has seen the collection of mosques, colleges and learned doctors of Islam in this single city of Bhopal, and has beheld the sanctity of life, the crowded state of the mosques, and the attention of the people of Bhopal to their religious duties, must acknowledge that there still remains in this city a sure foundation of the faith; and that for the peace and security of the faithful in these latter days, this city stands unrivalled in India, and puts to the blush the countries of Afghanistan and Scinde. The array of virtue which it has pleased Almighty God to concentrate in the person of the Ruler of this State, has never been equalled in any former Chief of Bhopal; she is the defender of the faith, and the framer of laws and ordinances. In endurance, fortitude, and skill she is a tower; for mercy, charity, liberality, benevolence, and generosity she is renowned through the world, very affable and gentle, most considerate and pitiful, kind to her dependants, a benefactress to the poor, gracious, equitable and just.

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* Jam Jahan nama.
Aina Sikandar.
Aina Jahandari, books. There is a play of words of the names of the Shah *Jahan* and *Sikandar* Begams.

I have no interested motives in thus writing and speaking of her; am I not her husband? I am no courtier seeking for a reward. God has been pleased to give me enough and to spare. This book has been compiled by the Begam at my earnest entreaty; the interests of the country and the true faith have been advanced by its publication. The account herein given is true, the events have been described as they actually happened, for which our thanks are due to God.

Part IV will now be commenced and continued by degrees according as events appear to her enlightened mind worthy of record; when completed, it will, by God's blessing, be incorporated in the present work.

One word is enough for the wise.

*FINIS.*

# GLOSSARY.

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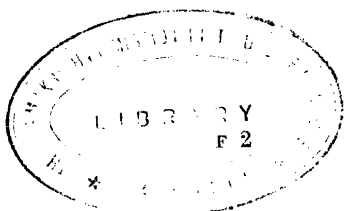
A

ABDAR—Hindu water cooler.

ABNUS—Ebony. Diospyros Melanoxylon.

AHIR—Caste of Hindus, often keepers of cows.

AISH FARHAT AFZA—Persian name of garden—"The source of delightful ease."

AKALI—Tribe of Sikhs.

AMIL—Office of governor or collector under Muhammadan rule.

AMIR—Noble.

AMIR-UL-AMRA—Most noble. Title of one of the chief nobles under the Emperors of Delhi.

ARFI—Poet of Persia.

ASABAH—Arabic silk handkerchief.

ASHRAFI—A gold mohur. Gold coin 16 rupees in value.

ATTAR AND PAN—Attar of roses and betel leaf, which are handed round at the conclusion of visits.

B

BAGH—Grove of trees.

BAISAKH BADI NOMI—9th of the waning moon of the month of Baisakh, a Hindu month corresponding with April and May.

BAJRA—A kind of grain. Holcus spinatus.

BAKSHI—Paymaster-general and Commander-in-chief.

BARA SINGH—Swamp deer. Rucervus Duvancelli.

BIBI—Lady.

BIJA—Bastard Teak. Pterocarpus Marsupium.

BOHRA—A trading sect of Shia Muhammadans in Western India.

BUDHWARA—Name of one of the four gates of Bhopal, from Budh the Hindi for Wednesday.

BUNNIA—A Hindu trading caste.

C

CHAORI—A whisk of yak's tail or horsehair to keep off flies, which is also an emblem of royalty.

CHARONJI—The fruit of the Buchanaria Latifolia.

CHAUDHRI—A Hindu title. The chief man of any particular tribe is often so styled.

CHITAL—The spotted deer. Axis maculatus.

D

DAFTAR HAZUR—The office of Her Highness. The Accountant-General's office.

DASTAK—Writ of demand for which a fee is charged by the bearer on the person served.

DEKKAN—South.

DEWAN—Minister.

DEWARA—One of the numerous clans of Rajputs.

DHAK—A tree. Butia Frondosa.

DHARM SHASTRA—Hindu code of law.

DILKUSHA—"Heart attracting," name of the country seat of the King of Oudh at Lucknow.

DURBAR—Native state visit.

DURIAS—Local name for Bharonda rugs.

DURREES—Cotton carpets.

E

EEDE UL FITR—Muhammadan festival representing the sacrifice of Ishmael (not Isaac) by his father Abraham.

EEDGAH—Place of celebration of the Eede.

F

FAKIR—Muhammadan beggar.

FARANGI—Frank. European.

FASLI—Hindu era. Fasl = harvest or crop.

FATEHA—Ceremony of mourning among Muhammadans.

FATEHGARH—The fort of victory. The citadel of Bhopal has this name.

FATWA—Opinion of a Muhammadan law officer.

FIRMAN—Deed of grant, &c., from Muhammadan king.

G

GAZ—Yard.

GIRAH—Measure of 2¼ inches, a fourteenth part of the gaz.

GOND—Primitive race to be found in Bhopal territory, part of which was formerly known as Gondwara.

H

HAKIM—Ruler.

HAKIM—Physician.

HALALI—Name of a river in Bhopal, means lawful.

HANIFA—One of the four principal sects of Islam.

HARAM—Name of the sacred precincts of Mecca.

HARDAL—Name of a tree. Adina Cordifolia.

HAZUR—Highness.

HOLI—Hindu festival occurring in March.

HUMA—A particular dish partaken of by Muhammadans in betrothal feasts.

I

IMAMBARAH—A kind of mosque in which the Muharram is celebrated.

INSHAYA—Name of one of the offices of the Ruler of Bhopal.

ISTIKBAL—The ceremony of welcoming a great personage by going out a mile or so to meet him and accompany him to his destination.

J

JABAL RAHMAT—The mount of mercy.

JAGHIR—An assignment by a chief of an estate or of the land revenue on certain villages.

JAGHIRDAR—The person in enjoyment of such assignment.

JAMA MUSJID—The principal mosque in a city.

JAMADI UL-AWAL—5th month of Muhammadan year containing 30 days.

JAMADI UL SANI—6th ditto, 29 days.

JAMAN—A tree. Eugenia Jambolana.

JANED—A Muhammadan saint of Bagdad.

JAWAR—Millet. Holcus Sorghum.

JUMARATI—Name of a gate of the town of Bhopal, from Jumarat, Thursday.

K

KAABA—Muhammad's tomb.

KABAR—Description of dry soil in Bhopal.

KACHNAR—A tree. Bauhimia variegata.

KAFILA—Caravan of traveller.

KANKI—Name of a crop not identified.

KANONGO—A registrar of landed property.

KARASH—Turkish coin, 20 of which = Rs. 3-8.

KARTIK—Hindu month nearly corresponding with October.

KASAR—Cutting the hair short by female Hajjis.

KASAR BUT—A herb valued as a remedy for paralysis.

KAYATH—A literary caste of Hindus.

KAZI—Muhammadan Judge.

KHAIL—Afghan clans are thus designated.

KHAIR—A tree. Acacia catechu.

KHARITA—Properly the bag in which state despatches (Khat) are sent, generally used for a despatch.

KHARWA—A coarse red cotton fabric.

KHILLAT—Dress of honour.

KHIM—Local name for a tree, botanical name unknown to me.

KHIYAT—Tailor.

KHO—Local name for hill forest.

KHUSRU—Cyrus.

KHWAJA SERA—Eunuch.

KITCHIWARA—Tract of country inhabited by Kichi Rajputs, south of Goona, Central India.

KODON—Pumpkins.

KORBANI—Sacrifice.

KWAR—Hindu month nearly corresponding with September.

L

LABEK—First word of Arabic prayer, v. p. 107.

LAC—1,00,000.

LALLA—A term of respect; master; prefixed to names of Hindu bankers or munshis.

M

MADAR-UL MAHAM—Persian title given to the First Minister in Bhopal.

MAFTI—Muhammadan law officer.

MAGH—Hindu month nearly corresponding with January.

MAHAJUN—Hindu caste of bankers and merchants.

MAHARAJA—Hindu for king.

MAHOUT—Elephant-driver.

MANASSA—Grain measure = 100 manis.

MANI = 4 maunds, 1 maund = 40 seers, 1 seer equal to 96 Govt. rupees in weight in Bhopal.

MASH—A grain. Phaseolus max.

MASNAD—Muhammadan throne.

MASUR—A grain. Acir lens.

MATHA-SUL—Foreheadache. Local name for rice, said to be a cure for headache.

MEWATTI—Muhammadan inhabitant of Mewat, tract near Jeypore.

MIAN—Title of respect prefixed to the names of Muhammadans. In this work, only given to the junior members of the ruling family of Bhopal.

MIR—Equivalent to Syud, descendant of the Prophet.

MIR DABIR—First secretary, or Munshi.

MIRZA—Prince. All descendants of Moguls in India are addressed with this prefix.

MOHULLA—Ward or quarter of a town.

MOHUNT—Hindu or Sikh priest.

MOHUR—Gold coin, value 16 rupees.

MORAN—A description of dry soil in Bhopal.

MORCHA—A redoubt.

MOTI—Pearl. Moti well, pearl well.

MOTIMID UL MAHAM—Title of the Second Minister in Bhopal = chargé d' affairs.

MUHARRAM—1st month of Muhammadan year; also a festival held in that month.

MULAVI—Doctor. A Muhammadan religious title.

MULLA—Preceptor. Muhammadan religious title.

MULSARI—A tree. Mimusops Elingi.

MUNG—Pulse. Phaseolus mango.

MUNG PHALI—The ground nut.

MUNSHI—Writer or secretary.

MUST—Madness to which male elephants are sometimes liable.

N.

NAIB—Deputy.

NAMUNA—Pattern. Example.

NASHRA—Alam Nashra is part of the Koran: name given to rejoicing on the occasion of the heir to the Bhopal State completing the Koran.

NASIKH—A late Poet of Lucknow.

NASRAT JANG—A title, meaning victorious in war.

NAUTCH—Dance.

NAWAB—Muhammadan title of ruler.

NAZAR—A gift from an inferior to a superior on state occasions.

NAZIM—An official title, translates commissioner.

NEWAR—Very broad cotton tape.

NIKAH—Marriage ceremony among Muhammadans.

NIL-GHAI—A species of antelope. Portax Pictus.

NIMAK CHASHI—Tasting Salt. A ceremony connected with Muhammadan betrothals.

NIZAM—Deputy or lieutenant. Title of the Nawabs of Hyderabad.

P

PAGRI—Turban of cloth.

PAL—A dam.

PARAS—Persia.

PARGANA—A division of land containing from 50 to 300 villages.

PATEL—Headman of a village.

PATHAN—Tribe of Afghans.

PESHWA—Prime Minister of the Mahrattas, who usurped the chief power.

PINDARAS—Name of the hordes of freebooters who infested Central India previous to British supremacy.

PIR-ZADA—Descendants of a saint (Muhammadan).

PUAR—A clan of Rajputs.

PUCCA—Built of solid masonry.

PUNKHARAJ—King of birds. Name of a horse.

PUSHTU—Name of the Afghan language.

R

RABI-UL-SANI—4th month of Muhammadan year.

RABI-UL-WAL—3rd ditto ditto.

RAJAB—7th ditto ditto.

RAJPUT—A Hindu caste.

RAMELI—A crop grown in the rainy season in Central India, grows about 2 feet high with yellow flower; seeds eaten by poorer classes and also oil is made from them.

RAMZAN—9th month of Muhammadan year.

RANI—Wife of a Raja.

ROHILLA—A clan of Afghans, who gave their name to Rohilcund.

RUMI—Turkish.

S

SAFAR—2nd month of Muhammadan year.

SAI—The race between Safa and Marwah; part of the duty of pilgrims at Mecca. Page 109.

SAID—Descendant of the Prophet.

SAJ—A tree. Terminalia Tomentosa.

SAMBAT—The Vikramajit Hindu era.

SANAD—Deed of grant.

SAR—A tree not identified.

SEPOY—Indian soldier.

SETH—Hindu banker.

SHABAN—8th month of Muhammadan year

SHAIKH—Applied in India to all proselytes to Islam and their descendants, who are not Pathans, Moguls, Usbegs, Turks or other immigrant Muhammadans by race.

SHAMIANA—A canopy supported on poles to shade from the sun.

SHEBI—The custodian of Muhammad's tomb.

SHERIF—The religious chief of Mecca.

SIRDAR—Nobleman.

SISSOO—A tree. Dalbergia Sissu.

SOLUNKI—A branch of the Rajput caste.

SOWAR—Cavalry soldier.

SUBAH—Governor of a province.

SUJAR—A description of dry soil in Bhopal.

SUNNI—The principal sect among Muhammadans.

SURAT-I-ALFAJAR—Part of the Koran.

SYUD—Same as Said.

T

TAHSIL—Jurisdiction of a Tahsildar. Division of country for revenue purposes.

TAHSILDAR—A collector of land revenue.

TAIFUR—A Muhammadan saint.

TALUK—An estate aggregating several villages.

TALUKDAR—Proprietor of a taluk.

TAT-PATI—Strips of gunny ; a coarse fabric made of Indian flax.

TAZIA—Tombs of Hassan and Hassain—copies of these tombs made of wood and paper and buried in the Muharram festival.

TEKRI—Hill.

THAKUR—A Rajput chief.

THANADAR—A chief constable in charge of a Thana or Police post.

TILLI—Sesamum.

TUR—A kind of pulse, known as arhar in N. W. P.

TUSA—A minute measure, portion of a girah which equals 2¼ inches.

U

UMATWARA—The country inhabited by Umat Rajputs, *viz.*, Narsinggurh and Rajgurh.

VAKIL—Agent. In Native States there is a responsible man of this title in attendance on the Political Agents.

Y

YADDASHT—Memorandum or Despatch.

Z

ZAMINDAR—Landowner.

ZARIH—Name of the tomb of Husain.

ZIKAT—The 11th month of the Muhammadan year.

ZILHIJ—The 12th month of the Muhammadan year.